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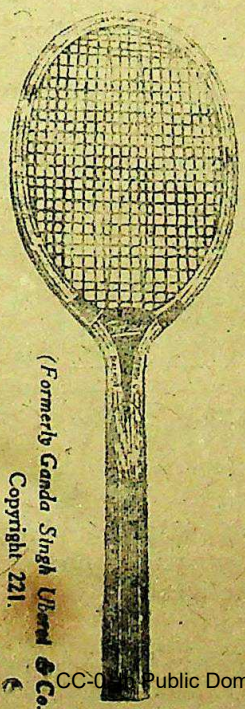

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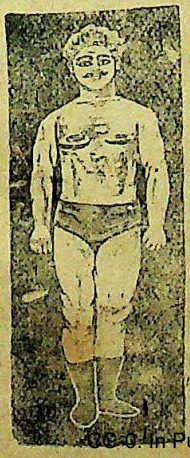

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Volume XXXIX. Whole No. 233. | JANUARY, 1919. | Old Series Nos. I—X. New Series No. 223.

Is Durable Peace Possible ?

By Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

WE heartily congratulate the Entente Allies and the United States on the happy termination of the great world-war. We admire the untiring patience, the indomitable courage and the unflinching perseverance with which they have wrestled for over four years with the appalling forces of savagery which were ranged against them. But the end is not yet. Their work is not even half done. The task which lies before them—that of securing durable peace—is much more formidable than the one they have accomplished with such conspicuous success.

Cataclysmal change is as rare in social as in natural phenomena. Just before the war Germany was the principal seat of Western culture. She filled the place which France had occupied before and attracted intellectual pilgrims from all parts of the world. Now she is branded as "Hun," and if even half the atrocities that have been attributed to her be true she richly deserves that opprobrious epithet and worse. But she cannot be reasonably disowned by the rest of the Western Powers as she has been of late. She has been, still is, and will continue to be a member of the civilised fraternity of the West. The barbarism which has manifested itself in such an extraordinary outburst in her case was by no means so suddenly developed, nor is it so circumscribed

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as it is represented to be. There were premonitory symptoms of the apparently abrupt eruption which might have been and were foreseen by discerning observers. These symptoms were not confined to Germany. Under the glittering crust of modern Western culture a penetrating eye could discover simmering forces of barbarism which have found its greatest vent in Germany—probably because she has been most eminent in modern culture—and have broken out there with such tempestuous fury. But this great eruption was preceded and has lately been succeeded by numerous smaller eruptions elsewhere. The barbarities of Belgium in Congo, of several European Powers * in China during the Boxer Campaign, and of Italy in Tripoli are still fresh in the memory of living men. The inhumanities recently perpetrated by the Russian revolutionaries are quite of a piece with the worst that have been ascribed to the Germans in Belgium. †

Just before the war even the cultured ladies of England of good social position were guilty of outrages befitting hooligans of the worst type. They made attempts to blow up the London Reservoir at Woolwich and the waterpipe from Lock Katrine to Glasgow which conveys half Glasgow's water supply. They damaged pictures at the National Gallery and the Academy, smashed the glass of a mummy case in the

---

* The Kaiser, when his punitive expedition was setting out for China, addressed thus :

"When you encounter the enemy you will defeat him. *No quarter shall be given, no prisoners shall be taken.* Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as the Huns a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Etzel (Attila), gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again even dare to look askance at a German."

† Says the *Saturday Review* in a recent issue (February, 1918).

"It is a simple matter of fact that more people have been murdered in the Russian revolution than in the Reign of Terror in France. In truth the horrors of the Russian Revolution have been worse and more varied than those of the French Revolution. In the revolt of the Baltic fleet, the admiral and the officers were thrust down holes in the ice, and a ship's barber was appointed Admiral. A General had his hands cut off and after being carried round the town, was finally hacked to pieces before his family. Another General was stoned to death in his carriage in the streets of Moscow. Officers and helpless civilians have been murdered wholesale : banks have been looted : debts repudiated : British mining property has been confiscated : lands have been seized in the provinces and where the landowners objected, their castles have been set on fire. The Constituent Assembly, newly elected, has been dispersed by bayonets and cannon. We have never heard or read one single word of condemnation of these atrocities from any British Minister. These massacres, and rapes, and robberies are really worse than the cruelties of the Germans. For the Germans, at least, confine their frightfulness to their enemies. But the Russians practise their barbarities upon Russians, it is their own kith and kin whom the predominant faction torture and kill."

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British Museum and threw missiles at the Magistrate during their trials. A railway station in Leicestershire was destroyed by them. A suffragette bomb exploded in the mail bag on a train and ignited six other bags and also the van itself. A suffragette was arrested while in the act of lighting the fuse of a bomb in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Westminister. A suffragette bomb was exploded in St. George's Church, Hanover square. Another was discovered in a Church at Edinburgh. People who interrupted at suffragette meetings were sometimes knocked almost senseless by showers of blows from fists, sticks and umbrellas. Even a curate was on one occasion hustled down to a neighbouring lake and given a shove which sent him in up to his knees. Blood flowed from a deep cut beneath his eye and his mouth.

Herbert Spencer concludes a remarkable essay on "Re-Barbarization" written in the early part of the present century with the following significant words : " Thus on every side we see the ideas and feelings and institutions appropriate to peaceful life replaced by those appropriate to fighting life. . . . . In all places and in all ways there has been going on during the past fifty years a recrudescence of barbaric ambitions, ideas and sentiments and an unceasing culture of blood thirst. If there needs a striking illustration of the result, we have it in the *dictum* of the people's Laureate, that the ' lordliest life on earth ' is one spent in seeking to 'bag' certain of our fellow-men."*

Another acute observer, Alfred Russell Wallace, writing about the same time as Herbert Spencer says :—

"The latter half of the century [the nineteenth century] has witnessed a revival of the war spirit throughout Europe ; which region has now become a vast camp, occupied by opposing forces greater in numbers than the world has ever seen before. . . . . And what a horrible mockery is all this when viewed in the light of either Christianity or advancing civilization ! All these nations, armed to the teeth, and watching stealthily for some occasion to use their vast armaments for their own aggrandisement and for the injury of their neighbours are Christian nations. . . . . The state of things briefly indicated in this chapter is not progress but retrogression. It will be held by the historian of the future, to show, that we of the nineteenth century were morally and socially unfit to possess and use the enormous powers for good or evil which the rapid advance of scientific discovery had given us; that our boasted civilization was in many respects a mere surface veneer, and that our methods of Government were not in accordance with either Christianity or civilization. . . . . It has been often said that companies have no souls, and the same is still more true of the Governments of our day."†

* "*Facts and Comments*" (1902), pp. 132—133.

† "*The Wonderful Century*" pp. 331—341

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Though the phenominal growth of the military spirit during the latter part of the nineteenth century did not escape the notice of Western observers, they appear to have overlooked the main cause to which it was due. In an article in the *Westminister Review* in 1901,* entitled "Western science from an Eastern standpoint," I pointed it out to be Europe's titanic industrial development due to the unceasing economic applications of modern natural science on a gigantic scale. I then wrote:

"Not long ago the Peace Rescript of the Czar evoked enthusiastic and sympathetic response from all the centres of Western civilisation. But, all the same, the armaments of Europe have been increasing apace; and they will continue to increase apace—peace rescripts and peace associations notwithstanding—so long as natural science continues to multiply its inventions and discoveries. New markets—which in Western vocabulary has come to mean possessions, or spheres of influence—must be found for the ever-increasing manufactures of Europe.

Over-production and capitalism—the effects, as we have seen of the industrial application of modern science—are the principal causes of the growing spirit of militarism and imperialism in the West. The large armies and navies maintained by the greater Western Powers are as much for defence at home as for defence and offence abroad, for the protection and expansion of their interests in Asia and Africa. The great wars of the future will be fought, not for interests in Europe, but for interests outside Europe. The settled policy of the Great Powers is to partition Asia and Africa among them, and diplomatic and peaceful delimitation of spheres of influence will probably not be always practicable."

The great wars which have taken place since 1901, have fully confirmed me in my views. As I have said in my "Root cause of the Great War," (1915). "The scramble for markets in Asia and Africa, have made international jealousies and rivalries in the Occident keener than ever before, and is unquestionably one of the most potent causes of the militarism of modern Europe. The Russo-Japanese war and the recent war of Italy with Turkey are entirely attributable to it. The titanic war which is now going on, is primarily due to the keen desire of Germany for Imperial expansion outside Europe. Western writers like Norman Angell who try to demonstrate the futility of warfare entirely overlook this aspect of it. It is quite true, as they maintain, that directly no European Power can secure any material advantage by conquests or annexations in Europe; but, indirectly, they can by extending their possessions or spheres of influence abroad. There cannot be the shadow of doubt, that it is the expectation of this indirect gain which has spurred Germany to stake her all in the Armageddon which she

* Since reprinted in my pamphlet, "*An Eastern View of Western Progress.*"

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has set going. The only way in which she can hope to profit by conquering or crippling her powerful antagonists is by ousting them out of their dependencies and by capturing their markets outside Europe. The Kruger telegram, the *Panther* at Agadir, the manner in which Kia-Chau was acquired in China, the Bagdad railway, and various other recent incidents, reveal the African and Asiatic ambitions of Germany. She will not gain much, if at all, by expanding her Empire in Europe. But from the exclusively material point of view, she would gain a great deal by the extension of her empire outside Europe. The objective of Germany is not Belgium but Congo, not France but Morocco, not England but India. Sir Edward Goschen thus reports the communications made by the German Chancellor only a week before the outbreak of the war : 'Provided that neutrality of Great Britain were certain, every assurance would be given to the British Government that the Imperial Government aimed at no territorial acquisition at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue. I questioned His Excellency about the French colonies, and he said that he was unable to give a similar undertaking in that respect.' "

It seems to us an almost inexplicable enigma that Western philanthropists while they earnestly deprecate war should be blind to the chief cause—the application of science to industry and the art of warfare—which promotes it and intensifies its horrors so much so, indeed, that they often further or aggravate it by their own action. Nobel was such a lover of peace that he instituted a munificent prize for its promotion. Yet he commercialised explosives which promoted industrialism, and made peace more difficult, and war more terrible than ever before. Hiram Maxim was a philanthropist. He professed great sympathy for the weaker peoples of the globe. Nevertheless he armed the Westerner with guns which facilitated their enslavement, and which instead of adding to their happiness, have vastly added to their misery. The American Ford is such an enthusiastic pacifist, that when the late War broke out he came to Europe on a mission of peace with a steamerful of similarly minded compatriots But it does not appear to have occurred to him that by improving and cheapening the production of motor-cars he was contributing materially to industrialism and to militarism.

I had the good fortune of camping with an American scientific and industrial expert some years ago. He is an esteemed friend of mine, and a man of highly benevolent impulses. One day our conversation turned upon the phenomenal industrial development of the West. I pointed out to him the enormous mischief it was doing to humanity and asked him what its goal was. My friend—the practical man that he was—said he did not know what the goal was ; all that he knew was that the wheels must go on crushing whom it may. The Westerners generally are practical men of this type. They would do their utmost to

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relieve the sufferings caused by war. We have nothing but admiration for the noble efforts which self-sacrificing men and women make to tend the sick and the wounded during wartime. But the Westerners would not probe the causes which lead to war and try to prevent it so far as possible. Perhaps they do not do that because the removal of the causes would mean the reduction if not the practical demolition of the stupendous fabric of commerce and industry which they believe to be the greatest monuments of their progress and which we believe to be the greatest impediment to it.

It should be observed, that within limits industry and commerce are conducive to peace. But of late they have far exceeded those limits in the West. The activities of the State and the people are mainly divided between industry, commerce, and war. These are the three gods that receive almost universal homage. Culture, which recently attained such a high state of development in the 'Kultur' of Germany, and even religion are subordinated to them. The Occidentals profess to carry the light of their religion and civilisation to the benighted heathens of Asia and Africa. But there is good deal of truth in the pithy remark of the Chinaman "First the Missionary, then the Consul; and last the General"

If we are right in our diagnosis of the main cause of the prevailing military and predatory spirit in the West, then the establishment of durable peace will depend upon the extent to which its industrialism, or rather the inventive fertility that promotes it, could be checked. I am afraid the suggested League of Nations could or would do but little in that direction. On the contrary, the great powers of the West are already preparing for the coming industrial warfare and to oust Japan from the markets she has captured in the East during the War. Japan is also preparing for the next great contest which if the scramble for markets continues, may be witnessed by the next generation, and the horrors of which are likely to exceed even those of the one just terminated owing especially to the greater perfection to which the flying machines are likely to be brought soon.

The idea of a League of Nations for the establishment of enduring peace is not a new one. It has been tried repeatedly, but has failed ignominiously. The last great attempt was the Hague Tribunal. But as a writer observed in the *Fortnightly Review* sometime ago, "the peace conferences became war conferences. The Hague became the inspiration of the new movements in armaments. The delegates came away full of suspicion one of the other. A new contest for force began. It was realised that the nations were antagonised and that each looked for safety not to treaties, but to its own armaments." Bernhardi rightly observes in his *Germany and the Next War*, that the judgment

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of the Arbitration Courts could never be enforced by existing public opinion, and "real compulsion could only be employed by means of war—the very thing which is to be avoided." Diplomacy has proved a dismal failure, and there is no valid reason to expect that it will be otherwise in the future. The difficult work that has to be accomplished now is not one solely, or even mainly for diplomats, jurists and politicians. They could at best regulate commerce, define national boundaries, "spheres of influence," etc. But past experience shows what the regulations are worth. The Congress of Vienna did its best to restore to Europe the political arrangements which had existed before the rise of Napolean. But the political equilibrium which the Powers thought they had established satisfactorily lasted only for a few years. And we have already adverted to the egregious failure of the Hague Tribunal of which so much was expected by the Pacifists of the West.

The difficult work of establishing durable peace is to be accomplished not so much by politicians as by philosophers, not so much by jurists and diplomats as by sages and seers. There is a most remarkable passage* in the Institutes of Manu which condemns the employment of huge machinery as sin of the second magnitude (*upapátaka*). It shows the wisdom of the sages of ancient India. Indeed, when we take into consideration the community and pervasiveness of the evils† wrought in all parts of the world by the gigantic machines of the present day, and the comparatively little good they have done, their employment appears to us to be little short of a sin.

The Hindus discouraged industrialism strongly, perhaps too strongly. Visvakarma, the divine patron of arts in India, receives worship only from artisans, and he was in no way superior to Maya the architect of the Danavas (Barbarians). Sukráchárya, the greatest Indian inventor of ancient times of whom we have any traditions, was also a teacher of the Dánavas. The discouragement of inordinate inventive activity was not confined to the Hindus. The wise men of Greece also were aware of the highly pernicious character of such activity. Plato remonstrated with his friend Archytas who had invented powerful machines on mathematical principles, and declared "this was to degrade a noble intellectual exercise into a low craft fit only for carpenters and wheel wrights." Archimedes was half ashamed of his inventions which were the wonder of his age.

The way in which the sages of India and Greece suppressed the inventive geniuses of their day is probably not now practicable in Europe.

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* *Sarvákareshvadhikaro Maháyantrapravartanam* (XI 64.)

† The writer has dealt with these in some detail in his *Epochs of Civilization* and *An Eastern View of Western Progress*.

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But unless something is done to control if not to kill the Frankenstein she has raised there does not appear to be any chance of peace on anything like a sound basis. True, so long as human nature remains what it is, wars can not be prevented altogether. But if the prostitution of science to greed and industry be stopped, if proper discrimination be exercised in encouraging and applauding invention, and if the employment of machinery on a large scale be brought under strict control, they could be prevented from assuming such portentous dimensions as the one we have just passed through.

The solution of the Peace Problem needs the earnest co-operation of philanthropists, moralists and philosophers. The wise men of the West should be sought out and called to the Peace Conference. The task of establishing peace on a secure basis is more a moral than a political one. Industrialism has proved a potent cause of militarism because it fosters greed, and it has been largely aided by the recent weakening of the force of religion. There is greed in every society, but there never has been a civilized society in which the worship of Mammon has been so universally prevalent as in modern western society. The high-born as well as the low-born, the educated and cultured as well as the uneducated and ignorant, all are eagerly engaged in the insane race for wealth. Such would not have been the case, if Christianity had been anything like a living belief regulating the conduct of a large number of those who profess it. For it condemns inordinate accumulation of wealth as strongly as any of the other great religions of the world, one of its precepts being that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the gates of heaven." What is badly needed is a moral revolution. But the forces which might bring it about appear to be very feeble at present. If a Christ or a Gautama Buddha were to appear in the West now he would be ridiculed as a visionary, or hooted as an impostor by the great majority, and would make but little abiding impression upon the rest. It is possible that the tide of ochlocracy and sociocracy which is now setting in may lead to the ultimate downthrow of capitalism and mammonism, as the tide of democracy a century ago swept away absolute monarchy. If it does that it would remove one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the ethical development of Europe and of the establishment of peace on a secure basis. Before the War and and even during it, there were constant skirmishes between capital and labour which sometimes assumed the magnitude of civil wars. Dean Inge in an article in the *Quarterly Review* (January 1918) describes them as "acts of civil war and disgraceful outbreaks of criminal anarchism." "Revolutionary strikes," says he "prepared long in advance by forced levies of money which were candidly called war funds, had as their avowed aim the paralyses of the industries of the country and the reduction of the population to distress by withholding the necessaries

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of life." The War has convinced the proletariat of their power. If the surf of Bolshevism which is now surging up in some parts of Europe could sweep away its huge industries, it would do incalculable good not only to Europe but to the whole world. For a time, no doubt, there would be chaos. But when order is restored, Europe would be able to resume her march along the path of civilisation which she had been steadily pursuing for some centuries up to the latter part of the nineteenth.

When the Industrial Revolution took place in Europe about the middle of the nineteenth century, the Manchester politicians and others expected that it would afford a secure foundation for peace, that the Angel of Peace would descend in a drapery of calico. Gradually, however, the evils of Industrialism manifested themselves. Ruskin wrote referring to the industrial perfection of England :—

"Alas, if read rightly, these perfectnesses are signs of a slavery in our England a thousand times more bitter and degrading than that of the scourged African or helot Greek. Men may be beaten, chained, tormented, yoked like cattle, slaughtered like summer flies, and yet remain in one sense, and the best sense, free. But to smother their souls within them, to blight and hew into rotting pollards the sucking branches of their human intelligence, to make the flesh and skin into leathern thongs to yoke machinery with—this is to be slave-masters indeed ; and there might be more freedom in England, though her feudal lord's lightest words were worth men's lives, and though the blood of the vexed husbandman dropped in the furrows of her fields, than there is while the animation of her multitudes is sent like fuel to feed the factory smoke, and the strength of them is given daily, to be wasted into the fineness of a web, or racked into the exactness of a line."

But Western sages do not appear to have perceived the intimate relation which gradually came to be formed between Industrialism, militarism and Natural science. The last is the most important member of this diabolical triple alliance. As I have said elsewhere* :—"If it had been subordinated to philosophical culture ; if it had not been so extensively employed for saving manual labour and killing cottage industries, for perpetually adding to comforts and luxuries and intensifying the struggle for animal existence, and for improving the engines of destruction ; if, in short, it had not lent its aid so largely to material progress, and had kept more within the bounds of intellectual and ethical culture, we would have unqualified praise for it. But its wonderful practical applications which form such a fertile theme for exuberant encomium in the West arouse in us only feelings of anxiety and apprehension for the stability of Western Civilization. These applications which are considered by Western writers as its chief title to commendation are, to our mind, its chief title to condemnation. So long as the present insensate rage for invention continues ; at least so long as the zeal for it is not tempered by ancient culture, so long there does not appear to be any prospect of peace on anything like a durable basis."

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* "*The Root Cause of the Great War*," pp. 49—50.

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What is Beautiful ?

By Dr. A. COOMARASWAMY.

INDIAN philosophers have made important contributions to Aesthetics. I do not propose to discuss these here historically, as this has already been done elsewhere. * But without adhering strictly to Indian modes of expression, I shall try to state a Theory of Beauty from an Indian point of view, meaning by this a theory consistent with totalistic monism.

Man alone is able to perceive beauty : and though all men are potentially competent to this, as to any other spiritual experience, it is only in some that competence has ripened. It is first of all Nature that man, in aesthetic contemplation, endows with beauty : apart from this there exists in Nature only what is lovely or unlovely, good or evil. But these are relative terms, subjectively interpreted and differently applied by different individuals or by the same individual at different times : the existence of something like a general consensus of taste is at the best a local or racial average, and cannot give to any standard or canon an absolute or universal value.

Man, as a craftsman, expresses his experience or vision of beauty in works of art, such as poems, songs, pictures and dances, which are known to others by sense impression. Here the sequence is intuition, expression, exteriorisation, appreciation. The true work of art, the expression of an intuition, lies within the artist himself. The exteriorisation in the words of a poem, the marks of the brush or the notes of the score pre-supposes a spectator, even though this be no other than the artist himself regarding his own work. Supposing that the work of art is good of its kind, and the spectator competent, he will understand its language and obtain the experience of beauty. As pure aesthetic contemplation, this experience will not depend upon the theme of the work (whether high or low, etc.,) nor its mere charm (as of colour or assonance) : it will be an internal activity of the spectator, like the intuition, expression of the artist, and will proceed far more from himself than from the material work of art which he cognizes through

* Regnaud, *La Rhetorique sanskrite*, Paris, 1884.
Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Siva*, New York, 1918.

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the senses. It is not the theme that is beautiful, for the theme as such has merely a moral and sympathetic, not an aesthetic value : but in saying this we must not forget that in the first instance the vision of beauty is inseparable from the necessity felt by the artist to deal with a particular theme and no other. In other words aesthetic is concerned only with the relation between intuition and expression : and yet, as there must for any relation exist both terms, it is not by deserting Nature or by deliberately aiming at abstraction that a work of art becomes beautiful. The artist is concerned with what has to be said : if indeed he is an artist, the result will be beautiful, but it is as a philosopher rather than an artist that he will speak of beauty—as an artist his first aim will be to be explicit.

Beauty is something that the artist 'does to' Nature, something that the spectator ' does to' the work of art. This something is the perception of a relationship or harmony in what otherwise might appear disordered, alien, or unnecessary or merely good or evil. It is not that the artist perceives the working of any purpose in Nature, for he is wiser than that ; but he sees a unity in its diversity, and the emotion of beauty that accompanies this will be revealed, not so much in what he has to say, as in the way he says it. Nor is it merely that the spectator appreciates the artist's skill : he sees in the work of art an approximation to unity of content and form.

What the spectator ' does to ' the work of art in pure aesthetic contemplation is to complete within his own consciousness the identity of content and form—an identity which can never be realised externally, if only because in logical thought we are obliged to speak of theme and expression as two different things. The experience of absolute beauty thus transcends logic and belongs to a world of release from relationship. The action of the physical work of art is catalytic rather than causal : and the experience must be without beginning, duration, or end. Even in the most perfect case, therefore, just as in mystic experience, this condition must be rather touched, as a parabola touches a tangent, than intersected. All that we can say of it belongs to the approach and return ; for the rest, to adapt the aphorism of Bahva, this beauty of silence.

Notwithstanding, however, the application of the terms ,more' or 'less' beautiful to the material work of art is strictly

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indefensible, or at least elliptic, this usage has a real pragmatic value, and can hardly be dispensed with. Beautiful, applied to a work of art, means a high degree of approximation to identity of theme and expression, content and form—in other words, good of its kind. In very perfect works the gap is narrow, and when the theme is also congenial, we may say that the beauty is easy: and when the gap is wider, and the theme perhaps also uncongenial, then the beauty is more difficult. There are not wanting critics, who, from a sort of aesthetic pride, very much prefer the more difficult to the easier beauty: for the approximate perfection of the most supreme works leaves comparatively little to be accomplished by the spectator himself, and demands a certain humility from those who stand before them. To a certain extent, however, we may fairly say, that the greater the critic, the greater his tolerance of all expressions that are immediate and sincere, and the greater his intolerance of those in which the artist has deceived himself or seeks to deceive the spectator by a false emphasis or by mere sleight of hand.

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Social Life in the Pouranic Age—IV.

By Mr. JNAN CHANDRA BANERJEA, M. A., B. L.

IN this article the remaining Puranas have been consulted, and an attempt has been made to discuss the main features of the caste system as it prevailed in the Pouranic age.

The well-known Purusha Sukta (1) of the Rig Veda gives a four-fold origin of castes and according to the legend embodied in this hymn, the Brahmans arose from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the arms, Vaisyas from the thighs and Sudras from the feet of the Purusha. But the Bhagavata Purana (2) informs us that in the Krita age there was but one caste, and from this Dr. Muir (3) concludes that "the separate origination of the four castes was far from being an article of belief universally received by Hindu antiquity." The absence of caste divisions in the Krita age is not to be found in the Bhagabata Purana alone; it is also mentioned in the Matsya (4), Vayu (5), and Linga (6), Puranas; and the Brihadranyaka Upanishad (7), probably a much older production, also says that originally all people were Brahmans. It is in the Treta age that castes first came to be formed with a view to relieve the afflictions of mankind and establish social order. (8) And it is only in Bharatavarsha that caste prevails; in the eight other *varshas* of Jambudwipa it does not exist (9), nor does it prevail in Pushkara, one of the seven concentric islands of which Jambudwipa is the centre and which is described in the Kurma Purana as a veritable 'earthly paradise' (10). In the Krita age, all people were white as the swan (11). Gradually, the colour deteriorated, and the Brahmans alone were white in colour, the Kshattriyas were red, the Vaisyas yellow, and the Sudras black (12). It was known, in a vague sort of way, that pigmentation was due to the sun's rays (13). But even as early as the commencement of the Christian era, the Brahmans had begun to lose their distinctive white complexion, as we know from a passage in Kaiyata, the scholiast of Patanjali, who says that white complexion, etc., were seen in Brahmans who flourished in a previous cycle of existence, and whose descendants were rarely met with even in his time (14). Colour, as we know, is the original meaning of *varna*, but as Brahmans lost this distinction, other distinctions were set up. The

(1) Mandal 10, hymn 90.

(2) Sk. 11, ch. 17.

(3) Original Sanskrit Texts, London, 1890, page 160.

(4) Ch. 144.

(5) Ch. 8.

(6) Linga Purana=L. P., Part 1, ch. 39. For other abbreviations see previous articles of the series.

(7) Ch. 1, Br. 4, 48, 11.

(8) Vy. P, ch. 8; L. P., Part 1, ch. 39.

(9) L. P., Part 1, ch. 89.

(10) Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 49; V. P, Part 3, ch. 11.

(11) B. P., Sk. 11, ch. 17.

(12) Harivansa, ch. 203; Brahmanda Purana=Bd. P., ch. 35.

(13) P. P., Swargakhanda, ch. 4.

(14) Indo-Aryan Races: by Ramaprasad Chanda, 1916, page 24.

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Padma Purana (1), following the Mahabharata (2), observes that originally there was no distinction of castes, but they arose owing to difference of occupation, and this is corroborated by the Bhagavadgita (3), which mentions another element of differentiation—*Guna* or quality. Thus we find colour, occupation and quality as the three principal elements in the legendary accounts of the origin of caste divisions.

The fullest account of the origin of castes is to be found in the Brahmanda Purana, chapter 8, and also Vayu Purana, chapter 8. "The Creator, after creating plants for providing the means of subsistence, established the social order. Those who protected the others and exacted tribute he ordained to be Kshattriyas; those who lived without fear under the protection of the Kshattriyas and spent their days in realising the Brahman in all beings, were made Brahmans; those who were comparatively weak and maintained themselves by agriculture were called Vaisyas, and those who were of low vitality and full of misery and without energy, and engaged in serving the other three castes, were designated Sudras. Though the creator thus laid down the duties of the four castes they began to violate them through infatuation, and to quarrel among themselves without observing the rules of their respective castes. Then Brahma bethought himself and laid down other rules of action. He prescribed power, punishment and war as the means by which the Kshattriyas were to maintain themselves; teaching, officiating at religious ceremonies, and acceptance of presents, were similarly ordained as the Brahman's means of livelihood; agriculture, trade, and cattle-rearing were to be the Vaisya's means of subsistence and the practice of the mechanical arts, and service, were assigned as the functions of the Sudra. The duties common to the four castes were the offering of sacrifice, study, and liberality. In the same way, celestial abodes were fixed for them after death according to the degree of their achievement, *e.g.*, Brahmaloka for the Brahmans who observed the laws, Indraloka for the Kshattriyas who died in battle, Vayuloka for Vaisyas who fulfilled the duties of their caste, and Gandharvaloka for Sudras who faithfully served the other castes. Having allotted these as the future abodes of the men of the four castes who should be correct in their conduct, the Creator ordained the four *asramas* or stages." From the above extract it would appear that caste was at first made to depend on merit, but the people being unable to maintain the high standard required of them, it was subsequently modified and given an occupational basis. Both in the above passage, and in Brahmanda Purana, chapter 62, and Vayu Purana, chapters 8 and 57, we get a glimpse of the fact that the introduction of the caste system, if there is any truth at all in the Pouranic tradition that it was formally introduced at a particular point of time and was not a slow growth by imperceptible stages through many centuries, did not proceed smoothly and was not quietly accepted by the people at first, but was followed by social revolts resulting in the modification of the system. The Vayu Purana (chap 8) distinctly states that Brahma had to create other people to carry out his plan, when the people of the Treta age, to whom the caste system was originally vouchsafed, began to show laxity in observing the rules of caste.

Of all the *asramas*—those of religious student, householder, forest-dweller, and mendicant—the Puranas unanimously declare the superiority of the householder's

(1) Swargakhanda, ch. 25.

(2) Santiparva, ch. 188

(3) Ch. 4, 13. See also Harivansa, chap. 203.

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order, as the other orders are founded on and rendered possible by it (1). The Padma Purana (2) observes that there is no friend like one's wife, no virtue like compassion, no happiness like that of being free, and that no *asrama* is like that of the householder. It is, in fact, the matrix of all the other *asramas* (3). It is well to rub this lesson into a weak-kneed people who are apt to think of renouncing the world at the first touch of adversity, mistaking this to be the path of salvation. If the mind is truly detached from all worldly beings, says the Brihannaridiya Purana (4), then, and then only, should the wise man become a Sannyasi, otherwise he becomes fallen.

In many parts of Bengal, Brahmans do all the acts of cultivation, such as sowing, weeding, hoeing, and reaping, but draw the line at ploughing or tilling the soil with their own hands. They are justified in their abstinence by the Siva Purana (5), where such a Brahman is called a Sudra. In the same passage an envious and malicious Brahman is also called a Sudra, but that being a mental state not as easily capable of detection as ploughing, there is no bar to persons of such a disposition passing themselves off as Brahmans in these days. The Skanda Purana (6) gives the story of a Brahman farmer named Govinda who was devoted to his fields and used to tend cattle assisted by cowherds. Ploughing Brahmans are now common all over India, from the Simla hills down to Ceylon. Readers of Hunter's *Orissa* will find a graphic account of these degraded Brahmans in chapter v. Vol. I, of that book. "Nothing can be further from our ordinary conception of Brahman," says Dr. Hunter, "than these half-naked peasants [of Orissa] struggling along under their basket of yams and with a filthy little Brahmanical thread over their shoulder." Dr. Hunter accounts for their origin by supposing that in their long struggle with the Kshattriyas the Brahmans sought alliance with the aboriginal tribes, and that such alliances ended in some cases in an amalgamation, more or less complete, of the two races. Dr. Hunter's opinion, that the Brahmins are not an ethnic entity but are composed of two diverse strands, would find support from the 'acute rivalry' between Vishwamitra and Vasistha of which the Puranas speak (7 and from the calling in of aboriginal tribes like the Sakas, Yavanas, Palhavas, Mlecchas, and Barbaras (barbarians) by the latter to assist him in his fight with Vishwamitra, of which a graphic account is to be found in the Ramayana (8). The legend of King Vena (9), who proved so obnoxious to the Brahmans with his heretical doctrines that they killed him by vigorously rubbing his person, from which act King Prithu, as well as the aboriginal race of Nishadas were born, also suggests a conflict between the two higher castes in which the Brahmans would seem to have been assisted by the aboriginal races. Parashurama is said to have rid the earth twenty-one times of Kshattriyas, whom the Bhagabata Purana (10) stigmatises in this connection as seceders from the Vedic

(1) Brah. P., ch. 222; P. P., Kriyajogasara, ch. 25; Bm. P., ch. 12; V. P., Part 3, ch. 11; Markandeya Purana=Mr. P., ch. 143; Kurma Purana=Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 2.

(2) Patalakhanda, ch. 56.

(3) Baraha Purana=Bh. P., ch. 168.

(4) Ch. 25.

(5) Bidyeswara Samhita, ch. 10.

(6) Avantya Khanda, ch. 103.

(7) Brah. P., ch. 147.

(8) Adikanda, cantos 54—5.

(9) B. P., Sk. 4, ch. 13—15; Brah. P., ch. 4.

(10) Sk. 2, ch. 7.

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path, anxious to suffer the tortures of hell, and thorns on earth. His murderous activities, more congenial to Kshattriyas, and the mystery of Viswamitra's elevation to the Brahminic order are thus explained in the Puranas (1) : The Brahmin sage Richika gave a pudding to his wife, daughter of King Gadhi (and therefore a Kshattriya by blood), and another to his mother-in-law, promising that the former would beget a son with pre-eminently Brahminic virtues like himself, and the latter one with war-like attributes natural to Kshattriyas. By mistake each ate the wrong pudding, and hence the queen gave birth to Vishwamitra and her daughter begot Jamadagni, the father of Parashurama.

From the Manusamhita (2) we learn that Brahmins in those days used to be degraded into Sudras and *vice versa*, and that the same rule applied to Kshattriyas and Vaisyas. The Brahma Purana (3) gives full particulars of the causes which led to the degradation of Brahmins into Kshattriyas and Sudras and *vice versa*. The Puranas afford many examples of this elevation and degradation of castes. Vishwamitra is the best example of a Kshattriya becoming a Brahmin. The Manusamhita (4) says that he attained Brahmanhood by his *Benoy*, which is explained by the commentator Kullukabhatta to mean observance of the laws of omission and commission laid down by the Shastras. But the Vayu Purana (5) mentions the names of many other well known kings of the solar and lunar dynasties who attained Brahminhood by practising religious austerities. What is more remarkable still, we find from the Puranas that several well-known Brahmin sages, the progenitors of the premier caste whose names figure among the more prominent Vedic Rishis and the *gotras* and *pravaras* of the modern Brahmins, are themselves descended from Kshattriya Kings of the solar and lunar race, *e. g.* Harita, Angirasa, Garga, Mudgala, Kanva, Jajnavalkya and others (6). It may be mentioned in this connection that the ancestry of the Kuru-Pandava kings as given in the Mahabharata and the Puranas shows that they could hardly boast of a flawless pedigree, and had many blots on their escutcheon, though descent from these great Kings of the lunar race is now regarded as a passport to immediate distinction. (7) Budha was an illigitimate

(1) S. P., Nagarkhanda, ch. 166 ; B. P., Sk. 9, ch. 15.

(2) Ch. 10, V. 65.

(3) Ch. 223.

(4) Ch. 7, V. 42.

(5) Ch. 91.

(6) Vy. P., ch. 88 ; L. P., Part 1, ch. 65; V. P., Part 4, ch. 2 ; B. P. Sk. 7, ch. 11.

(7) This however is a common human failing, and the following observations of Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, from his *Rambles and Recollection*, will be found instructive on the point: "Better blood than that of the Rajputs of India certainly never flowed in the veins of any human beings, or what is the same thing, no blood was ever believed to be finer by the people themselves and those they had to deal with. The difference is all in the imagination, and the imagination is all-powerful with nations as with individuals. The Britons thought their blood the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Romans, the Picts, the Scots and the Saxons. The Saxons thought theirs the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Danes and the Normans. This is the history of the human race. The quality of the blood of a whole people has depended often upon the fate of a battle, which in the ancient world doomed the vanquished to the hammer ; and the hammer changed the blood of those sold by it from generation to generation. How many Norman robbers got their blood ennobled, and how many Saxon nobles got theirs plebianised by the Battle of Hastings ....."

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son, being raised on the wife of Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, by Chandra, the moon-god from whom the lunar Kings trace their descent. Budha's grandson begot Nahusa on Urvashi the celestial courtesan. His son Jajati married, in the form known as Pratiloma (against the grain), Devajani, the daughter of the Brahmin Sukracharya, the preceptor of the Asuras, and at the same time carried on a secret *liaison* with Sarmistha, the daughter of the Asura King Vrishaparva, from whom the great Puru was born. Lower down in the geneological tree, Dushyanta married Sakuntala, daughter of the courtesan Menaka and the heroine of Kalidasa's immortal drama. The immediate ancestors of the Kouravas and the Pandavas were Dhritarastra and Pandu, begotten by the great sage Vyasa (himself the son of an equally renowned sage Parasara by a maiden fisher-woman subsequently married to King Santanu) on the widow of his half-brother Vichitravirjya in order to save the race from extinction, the pious Vidura, who plays the role of Cassandra in the Mahabharata, being similarly begotten by him on a slave-girl. The Pandavas themselves, named after Pandu though they be, were, as is well known, only his putative sons. The famous Dhanwantari of the lunar race, founder of the Ayurveda, from whom the Vaidyas of Bengal trace their descent, is the grand-father of Bhargabhumi among whose descendants are to be found men of all the four castes another Kshattriya of the same race, Gritsamada, was the forefather of Sounaka, from whom also all the four castes are descended (1). From yet another well-known scion of the lunar race, Medhatithi, the commentator of the Rig Veda, sprang the Kanwayana sect of Brahmins (2). King Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, adopted the Brahman Bitatha Bharadwaja, son of Brihaspati by his elder brother's wife Mamata, who was thus reduced, as the Vayu Purana (3) says, to Kshattriyahood; and from this family sprang both Brahmins and Kshattriyas, some of whom are named in the Puranas (4). The Matsya Purana (5) mentions as many as ninety-two Rishis, belonging to the three higher castes, who occupied the proud position of being *mantra*-makers. But we know that some of those who enjoyed that distinction originally belonged to the Sudra caste, and were subsequently given *brevet* rank as Brahmins, as for instance Kakshibana, who was begotten on a slave woman of King Vali by the sage Dirghatama, but attained the rank of Brahmin by his religious austerities (7) and is even named among the Vedic Rishis (6). Ajamira, son of King Hasti, the founder of Hastinapur, had three wives, Nalini, Keshini and Dhumini; through the first of them, the Brahmins of the Moudgalya sect trace their descent; from the second, the Kanthayana Brahmins are derived; and from the third, sprang the great Kuru-Pandava dynasty of kings. (8) In several of the Puranas (9) we find that Prishadhra, one of the sons of Vaivaswata Manu and brother of the great Ikshaku, the founder of the solar dynasty, was degraded into a Sudra, and Nabhaga, grandson of Manu

(1) Vy. P., ch. 92; Brah. P., ch. 11 and 13; V. P., Part 4, ch. 8.
(2) M. P., ch. 49.
(3) Ch. 99.
(4) M. P., ch. 49; Vy. P., ch. 99.
(5) Ch. 145.
(6) M. P., ch. 48.
(7) Mandal 4, hymn 26, verse 1.
(8) M. P., ch. 49 and Vy. P., ch. 99.
(9) V. P., Part 4, ch. 1; Harivansa, ch. 11; B. P., Sk. 9, ch. 2; Sv. P., Dharmasamhita, ch. 60; Mr. P., ch. 112—3.

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by another son Nedista, was degraded into a Vaisya ; and the Garuda Purana (1) records a similar fate in the case of Dharstaka, grandson of Manu by yet another son Dhristi. In the Harivansa (2) we find that the sons of Nabhaga were again elevated to the status of Brahmins. The Skanda Purana (3) describes the reception into the Brahmanical fold of Kings Bitahabya and Vishwamitra, and of a Chandala named Matanga, whose story is also to be found in the Anusana-parva of the Mahabharata. An honest fowler named Satyatapa was raised to the rank of a Rishi by the sage Narada. On his expressing a doubt as to the validity of the permission granted him to study the Vedas, Narada said : "The spirit of meditation permeates your body : your instincts have become purified ; all the Vedas and the Shastras are now fit to be impressed on your memory. Man has only one sentient body, which is changed according as the mental disposition changes." (4) The sage Vasistha himself married a Chandala girl, Akshamala, who subsequently came to be known as Arundhati, (5) renowned as the great examplar of female chastity.

The great sage and law-giver Manu himself, it is well to remember, was of the kingly race, and in spite of the Brahmans, the position of Kings has been recognised in the Bhagavadiga (6) to be the highest on earth, as of all men they have the largest share of divinity in them. The Manusamhita (7) says that Manu gained a kingdom, and the poet Kalidasa (8) calls him 'the first of Kings, as *pranava* is the first of the metres.' In the Gita (9), the Lord, himself a Kshattriya, tells Arjuna that the path of wisdom was revealed by him to the sun, and was communicated by the latter to his son Manu, who again imparted it to his son Ikshaku, and in this way it was traditionally known to the royal sages, but had become extinct in course of time. In the Chandogya Upanishad (10) the Panchala King Prabahana tells the sage Goutama that Brahma Vidya had never been known to the Brahmans but was confined to the Kshattriyas alone. That Brahmans should approach Kshattriyas with a view to acquire spiritual knowledge, though usual, was regarded as contrary to the natural order of things by King Ajatasatru in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (11), but he nevertheless imparted it to the sage Gargya. In the same Upanished (12), it is said that there is none superior to the Kshattriyas, and that for this reason the Brahmans take their seat below Kshattriyas and supplicate them in the Rajashuya sacrifice. We have seen above that in the Pouranic accounts of caste the Kshattriyas were the first to be created by Brahma. In the Linga Purana (13) there is a discussion between the sage Dadhicha and his friend King Kshupa as to whether Brahmans or Kshattriyas were the superior caste as if the order of precedence was still

(1) Part 1, ch, 142.
(2) Ch. 11.
(3) Abantyakhanda, ch. 60.
(4) Bh. P., ch. 38—9.
(5) S. P., Prabhaskhanda, ch. 129.
(6) Ch. 10, v. 27.
(7) Ch. 7, v. 42.
(8) Raghuvansa, canto 1, v. 11.
(9) Ch. 4, v. 1—2.
(10) V. 3, 6—7.
(11) ii. 1, 95—15.
(12) i. 4., 48—11.
(13) ch. 35.

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unsettled at the time. From a passage of the Matsya Purana (1), which is however a repetition of a similar passage in the Adiparva of the Mahabharata, we get a glimpse of the relative social position of the priestly Brahmins and the Kshattriya Kings to whom they were attached. Sarmistha, the daughter of the Asura King Brishaparva, had a characteristically feminine quarrel with her friend Devajani, the daughter of Sukracharya, the spiritual director of the Asuras, while they were out on a bathing excursion, when Sarnistha, abused Devajani by calling her the daughter of a sycophant, supplicant and receiver of gifts who used to take his seat below the royal bed and humbly sing her father's praises.

When Parashurama denuded the world of Kshattriyas, their stock was replenished by adulterous intercourse with Brahmans (2). The following from the Mahabharata (3) will be found interesting in this connection. It will be seen that there the miscegenation is presented in as bright a light as is possible under the circumstances. "After Parashurama had cleared the world of Kshattriyas, their widows came to the Brahmins, praying for offspring. The religious Brahmins, free from any impulse of lust, co-habited at the proper seasons with these women, who in consequence became pregnant, and brought forth valiant Kshattriya boys and girls, to continue the Kshattriya stock. Thus was the Kshattriya race virtuously begotten by Brahmins on Kshattriya women, and became multiplied and long-lived." It is a remarkable fact that all the Puranas claim the Mleccha and barbarian tribes settled on the ourskirts of Bharatavarsha as being derived from Kshattriyas. The Sakas, Yavanas, Kombojes, Paradas etc., were all degraded Kshattriyas who were turned out of the pale of caste by King Sagara (4). After the four recognised castes come the Antyajas, *e. g.*, washermen and shoemakers, and then come the Antyabashayis, *e. g.*, Chandala and Pukkasa (5). It is noteworthy that according to the Puranas, the god Kalki, the coming Messiah, will clear the world of Mlecchas and Buddhists with the aid of an army composed of Brahmans, and he will celebrate his victory by performing sacrifices and feasting Brahmans with meats, wines, and fruits (6). The well-known verse of the Bhagabadgita (7) where the wise man is said to look with an equal eye upon Brahmins, Chandalas and dogs, finds its echo in many of the Puranas, (8) but we must not be deceived by such liberal professions into thinking that caste distinctions were not scrupulously observed. The very juxta-position of a dog and a Chandala speaks volumes as to the position occupied by the low castes in Pouranic society.

Noble sentiments on the subject of caste are not altogether wanting in the Puranas. In the Siva Purana, (9) Agni, in the shape of a Chandala, begs the hospitality of a Brahmin named Danaruchi, but he is careful to inform his host that he is a low-caste, and should therefore be served in the open like beasts and

(1) ch. 27.

(2) Vy. P., ch. 32 ; Sv. P., Dharmasamhita, ch. 30.

(3) Adiparva, ch. 64.

(4) V. P., Part 4, ch. 3 ; Vy. P., ch. 88 ; Sv. P., Dharmasamhita, ch. 61 ; Harivansa, ch. 14.

(5) B. P., Sk. 7, ch. 11.

(6) M. P., ch. 47 and 144 ; K. P., Part 3, ch. 16.

(7) Ch. 5, v. 18.

(8) P. P., Swargakhanda, ch. 24 ; Sv. P., Bayaviyasamhita, ch. 11 ; Br. P., Brahmakhanda, ch. 11 ; B. N. P., ch. 32 ; Garuda Purana=G. P., Part 1, ch. 281.

(9) Sanatkumarsamhita, ch. 54.

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birds. At which the Brahman replies : "I am not going to pay homage to your caste but to the soul that is in you and in all living beings and which transcends all earthly limitations. The same soul permeates the worms, reptiles, lower animals, and the twice-born, and I worship Him, the Purusha, God, the All-Good, and therefore feel no hatred towards the low-castes." In the same chapter a high ideal of Brahminhood is set up. The Brahmin does not lie, he does not kill ; nor does he serve, neither does he commit sins ; the Brahmin is synonymous with saint, and he is not subject to re-birth. In a passage which recalls Shakespeare's 'Hath not a Jew eyes ? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses affections, passions ?' the Bhabisya Purana (1) declares : "There are evil-disposed persons among all castes, and not even the gods can find out any real difference between Brahmins and Sudras (in this respect) after the most careful search. Neither are the Brahmins white as sunbeams, nor are the Kshattriyas red like the Kinsuka flower, nor are the Vaiysas yellow like orpiment, nor are Sudras black as coal. In their bodies, movements, the colour of their skin and hair, in blood, in their joys and sorrows, in their flesh, fat, and bones, in their humours, they are all alike, so why should there be a four-fold division of caste ? In the features, stature, period of gestation, organs of activity, in life and strength health and sickness, in their material and spiritual aspirations, there is no difference between the several castes. There is only one God who created them, so how can there be any distinction of castes ? Examined in the light of evidence, historical examples, morality and traditions, there can be no such distinction. Just as four sons of the same father belong to the same caste, so the same God being the creator of all, there can be no difference of caste. Just as the fig, whether it grows at the top, middle or near the root of the tree is the same in colour, appearance, touch and taste, so all the castes are one." In the same chapter we find the following historical example cited : "The sage Vyasa was born of a fisherwoman ; the sage Parasara of a Chandala woman ; Sukadeva and Kanada of out-castes like Suki and Ulup. Vasistha of a courtesan [Urvashi]; yet these, and several others of low parentage [*e. g.*, Narada, born of a slave-girl] attained Brahminhood." It will be observed that this eloquent protest against caste, which is worthy to be inscribed in letters of gold on every Hindu's door, presupposes the existence of caste distinctions in society, however unjust they were regarded to be. The Brahma Purana (2) repeats a famous passage of the Mahabharata (3) which runs thus : "If a Sudra becomes pure-souled and self-controlled by purity of action, he is fit to be respected as a Brahmin, so said Brahma himself; a Sudra who is pure in thought and deed is more worthy of regard than a Brahmin ; neither birth, nor tradition, nor scriptural lore, nor family connections, are the causes of Brahminhood ; it is character alone which is the cause. By character, everyone can attain Brahminhood ; a Sudra who possesses character becomes a Brahmin. The path of realising the Brahman (neuter) is the same for all ; he whose mind reflects the pure Brahman without attributes, is a Brahmin."

Women and Sudras are often bracketed together in a group apart, to indicate their natural inferiority and their common deprivation of certain valued rights, *e. g.*, after speaking with a woman or Sudra under certain circumstances, one should wash himself (4). Women and Sudras are ineligible for divine worship,

(1) Brahmaparva, ch. 42.
(2) Ch. 223.
(3) Anusasanaparva, ch. 143.
(4) Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 13 ; P. P., Swargakhanda, ch. 24.

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but lest this prove too discouraging to the classes from whom the most costly gifts might reasonably be expected, the Puranas obligingly allow that they may attend on the worshipper (1), and even meditate on the name of the god worshipped (2). He who eats the leavings of Sudras, outcastes and dogs (observe the juxta-position) should perform a severe penance (3). Sudras should not receive instruction (4) and the hoary precepts of the Shastras were to be a sealed book to them. So scrupulously was this injunction observed that in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, none but Brahmins and Vaidyas were originally allowed admission. The caste to which this bar sinister was so rigourously applied has, in recent times, when the prohibition is no longer recognised, produced the learned apostle of neo-Hinduism, Vivekananda, whom even the Brahmins are glad to swear by now. The most concentrated hatred towards the Sudras is however reserved for the Bhagavata Purana (5), where they are compared to the monkeys, who only multiply their kind and bring up offspring. To deny them the benefits of education in order to keep them in dense ignorance, and then to abuse them, was quite in consonance with the Pouranic sense of justice. And yet, the cry of outraged humanity rings out here and there in passages where man is adjured not to degrade his oul by unbecoming humility (6).

The Brahmin, on the other hand, is constantly extolled, and his self-respect is called into requisition to sustain the position assigned to him in the social organisation. The Garuda Purana (7) says that among those who have intelligence, man is the highest, and among men Brahmans are the highest. The Brahmin's body is the temple of all the gods (8); they are moving gods, and the Lord habitually resides in their persons (9). Brahmins should abjure serving the low by every means in their power; even in dire calamity they should not preserve their lives by servile work (10). In seasons of calamity Brahmins and Kshattriyas may follow the occupations prescribed for the Vaisyas, but never those of Sudras, and so long as it can be avoided, the higher castes should not encroach even on the professions reserved for the Vaisyas (11). In planning a town the eastern quarter should be assigned to the Kshattriyas, the western to Vaisyas and Sudras, the south should be allotted to dancing girls, musicians and prostitutes, the Mlecchas should be settled in the corner locations, and the north should be reserved for Brahmins, sages and others distinguished for sanctity (12). All should make way for the Brahmin, as for the king and the weak and the afflicted (13). It would appear that high positions like that of the judge

(1) L. P., Part 2, ch. 20.
(2) P. P., Patalakhanda, ch. 53.
(3) A. P., ch. 168.
(4) P. P., Jnanasamhita, ch. 27; Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 26.
(5) Sk. 5, ch. 14.
(6) Kr. P., ch. 16; P. P., Jnanasamhita, ch. 27 and Patalakhanda, ch. 4.
(7) Part 2, ch. 13.
(8) B. N. P., ch. 14 and Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 26.
(9) Bh. P., ch. 37.
(10) P. P., Patalakhanda, ch. 4.
(11) V. P., Part 3, ch. 8.
(12) A. P. ch. 116.
(13) Mr. P., ch. 34; Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 12.

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were earmarked for Brahmins, and they could even be appointed commanders-in-chief (1), as Dronacharya actually was. Brahmins who cook for, or accept fees from Sudras or live by the pen or the sword, serve a Sudra or a Yavana, maintain themselves by worshipping images, are however severely deprecated in the Brahmavaivarta Purana (2). It must be admitted that the characteristics of a true Brahmin as laid down in the Puranas are sufficiently high, *e. g.*, forgiveness, compassion, liberality, restraint from greed, self-control, straightforwardness, truthfulness, absence from malice, contentment, faith etc. (3). The Brahmin's Brahminhood depends on Brahmacharya ; it is the essence of self-control and meditation, and those Brahmins who observe it go to heaven (4). The Brahmin who is without learning only bears that name, like a wooden elephant or a painted deer (5) ; learning is the adornment of Brahmins (6) ; an ignorant Brahman, unwarlike Kshattriya, inactive Vaisya, and learned Sudra should be shunned from a distance (7). Brahmanhood deteriorates without constant study of the Vedas (8) ; a Brahman who studies the Vedas is not affected by a hundred sins (9) ; gifts to a Brahmin who does not study the Vedas or practise religious austerities, and habitually accepts fees, are useless, and as a man on board a boat built of stone is drowned so is the donor of such gifts drowned (10). Though a Brahmin is the living embodiment of godhead on earth, and the abode of the gods, the superior of all the castes, yet he does not shine without learning (11). Lest, however, the lower castes should be encouraged by these and similar utterances to demand too high a standard of excellence in the Brahmins, the Padma Purana (12) is careful to add that even the Brahman who does not observe the laws is to be treated with respect, not so the Sudra who has controlled his senses ; and the Garuda Purana (13) says that a Brahman should not be disregarded even if he be without learning.

The degradation of science from the high position it once occupied is observable in the position assigned to the profession of medicine in the Puranas. A Brahmin who practises medicine is sinful (14) ; to take rice at his hands is a heinous offence, though in the Charaka Samhita, the classical work on Hindu medicine (Sutrathana, chapter 30), the medical profession is thrown open to all the three higher castes without distinction (15). If one touches a corpse or a physician,

(1) M. P., ch. 215. Compare the *Sukraniti*, ch. 2, v. 54—5, where the king is advised not to look to one's caste or family alone in appointing a man to positions of trust, as they do not indicate any natural superiority.

(2) Prakritikhanda, ch. 23, 30, 38, 51.

(3) G. P., Part 1, ch. 49.

(4) M. P., ch. 175.

(5) P. P., Jnanasamhita, ch. 45.

(6) G. P., Part 1, ch. 113.

(7) G. P., Part 1, ch. 108.

(8) Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 14.

(9) Bh. P., ch. 68.

(10) A. P., ch. 209.

(11) P. P., Kriyajogasara, ch. 20.

(12) P. P., Kriyajogasara, ch. 21.

(13) Part 2, ch. 40.

(14) Br. P., Prakritikhanda, ch. 58.

(15) Do. do. ch. 36.

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he should bathe in his clothes (1). The Brahmavaivarta Purana mentions some very modern castes, *e. g.*, Hari, Dom, Teor, Jola, Suri, Bhat, Kach etc., (2) and introduces the modern popular worship of Sasthi, Manasha and Mangal Chandi (3). It is very hard on the Kayasthas and goldsmiths, whose hearts are said to be merciless and full of cunning (4); dancing girls, bards, beggars, and Kayasthas always deceive men by telling lies (5) Kayasthas formed the bulk of the Hindu officials in the Mahomedan regime, and their oppressions may have caused this outburst in the Brahmavaivarta, undoubtedly one of the latest Puranas. The *Rajtarangini* is also full of abuse of the Kayasthas, but there, according to Sir Aurel Stein, the word means officials, the great mass of whom were Brahmins (6). Among the Brahmins to be denied the high honour of invitation at funeral ceremonies, the Skanda Purana (7) mentions the following: physician, meatseller, shopkeeper, cowherd, gambler, drunkard, thief, maker of weapons, horse-breaker, whoremonger, cultivator, hunter, corpse-bearer, bird-fancier, teacher of military science, and others—a truly cosmopolitan crowd. Brahmins who worshipped at the temples, and were known as Devala Brahmins, were rated very low; so also were those who engaged in commerce, banking and sea-trade (8).

A great degeneracy of the Brahmins and the abolition of the caste-system are predicted for the Kali age. Then the Pashandas, the enemies of the caste system, will be born, and they alone will be respected (9). Only people of a low intelligence, and none of the higher castes, will perform sacrifices and read the Vedas (10). One should not even be on speaking terms with the Pashandas (rationalists) who do not observe the laws laid down by the Vedas and the Smritis (11). In vain did kings like Kumarapala, a reconverted Jain, try to wean men from heretical doctrines by promising elevation of rank within the order, as he is said to have done in the case of the Gobhuja sect of Sudras within his dominions who opposed Pashanda doctrines, those Sudras who had adopted the Jaina cult being boycotted by the Brahmins (12). Brahmins will take service under the Sudras and earn their livelihood thereby; Sudras will propound newfangled doctrines and Brahmans will follow in their wake (13). Each of the different *gotras* of Brahmans will suffer from peculiar moral defects (14). The sacred thread will be the only proof of Brahminism (15). Even the Sudras will split up into different castes (16). Ultimately all castes will be amalgamated and they will freely dine with one another (17).

(1) B. N. P., ch. 24.
(2) Brahmakhanda, ch. 10.
(3) Prakritikhanda, ch. 43–5.
(4) Srikrishna Janmakhanda, ch. 85.
(5) Do. do. ch. 105.
(6) Vol. I, Introd, ch. 1, Sec. 3 (London, 1900).
(7) Prabhaskhanda, ch. 205.
(8) Kr. P., Part 1. ch. 21; B. P., Kashikhanda, ch. 44.
(9) Vy. P., ch. 6.
(10) Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 29.
(11) L. P., Part 1, ch. 78.
(12) S. P., Brahmakhanda, ch. 36—8.
(13) B. N. P., ch. 38.
(14) S. P., Brahmakhanda, ch. 9 and 39.
(15) V. P., Part 4, ch. 24; K. P., Part 1, ch. 1.
(16) S. P., Brahmakhanda, ch. 39.
(17) Br. P., Srikrishnajanmakhanda, ch. 89.

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A rational origin of the caste system is hinted at in the Vamana Purana (1) where Sankara, while denouncing the ascetic practices of the Rishis and emphasising that mental purity is essential yet recognises the need of rules and regulations for preservation of social morals on the ground of their salutary effect, and adds that some great leader of men must have ordained the caste-system for the same reason. Though caste has long outlived such justification, following the same line of thought, the Garuda Purana (2) observes that the seeker attains salvation only after he has burnt his sins to cinders, and abjured women and caste distinctions. Elsewhere we find that not Brahmins alone, but the virtuous of all castes, will reach paradise through the Maharloka, at the end of each Kalpa or cycle. (3) Caste, in a word, is to be abjured only when a man is fit to be a Sannyasin, absolutely detached from the world and its concerns ; but so long as he is a social being, and not civilly dead (the Mahanirvana Tantra ordains the performance of his own funeral obsequies (4), and the burning of his own sacred cord (5) by the man who turns ascetic), he should follow in the wake of his father and grandfather (6) and observe all the multitudinous rules of caste prescribed by his sacred books, even to the extent of not imparting instruction to Sudras (7) and not learning the language of the Mlecchas (8)—this is the sum and substance of the teaching of the Puranas on the subject of this unique social phenomenon, not to be found in the same objectionable form in any other country on the surface of the globe.

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(1) Ch. 43.
(2) Part 1, ch 240.
(3) Vy. P., ch. 7 and 101.
(4) Ullasa 8, verse 239.
(5) Ullasa 8, verse 255.
(6) P. P., Swargakhanda, ch. 27.
(7) Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 16 ; P. P., Jnanasambita, ch. 27.
(8) Kr. P., Part 1, ch. 16.

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Journalism in England.

By the Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE WALSH, K. C.

JOURNALISM in England is not a profession. At the most it is a career. It is a fair and free field, open to all. It has its Inner Circle, and even its Holy of Holies. But its domain is unguarded, it has entrances everywhere, and none are barred.

Most of us would like to "write for the papers" and many of us have done so now and again. But we have never presumed to call ourselves "journalists." To attempt a definition of a "journalist" is a hazardous task. One might suggest that it included all those with regular and definite employment upon a newspaper, on the one hand, and on the other hand, all who without definite employment make the "filthy lucre," which they condescend to accept for their literary efforts, the main source of their income. This would include of course the "penny-a-liner" who is the "maid-of-all work" on the weekly local "rag" of a small provincial town, and who varies his attendance upon big political gatherings to take down some great man's utterance *verbatim*, and visits to the parish concert, the charity bazzar, or to an amateur dramatic performance, with an occasional and quite unintentional libel upon the rival editor, and an industrious pursuit after advertisement. It would also include the double First who has just left Oxford and contributes an epoch-making article to the leading Radical Review.

The Institute of Journalists has done much to organise and regulate the ranks of journalism, and to create some sort of qualification for membership. It makes an effort to emulate the work of the chief disciplinary bodies which look after the affairs of most of the recognised professions. Its members are largely journalists proper, though I believe it includes a number of proprietors, whose literary compositions would seldom see the light of day if their authors had no publication of their own to command. It includes most of the regular members of the staffs of the leading papers, and of the recognised periodicals of more modest pretensions. It includes a good many of course whose work is only indirectly and remotely literary. It excludes the vast majority of literary men, who, without attaching themselves to any particular staff, contribute to all kinds of journals and magazines. No attempt to define the term "journalist" would produce a definition which did not exclude a large number of literary men who contribute to modern journalism, and which did not, on the other hand, include a great many who have no pretensions to calling themselves literary men at all.

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All that is required to enable one to write is, I believe Charles Lamb once said, a pen, some paper and ink, and something to say. That, of course, is the great point ; to have something to say. But it is possible to write much excellent stuff without producing anything of any value as a contribution to modern journalism. As a rule, it is only the writer of established reputation, who is invited to write something over his own signature, whose contributions find a place in the ordinary journal, if anything very original in the way of style or treatment is attempted. Each paper, or periodical, has its own circle of readers, and its own conventional method and style, for which, of course, the Editor is responsible. The "free lance" who writes all round the Press, and sends his compositions where he knows they will have a chance, must study very carefully, and does in fact know exactly, what is required by each Editor. Every journal has to find its own market and to keep up with every issue the special feature which appeals to its own circle. Every journalist who seeks to contribute to a variety of papers and to publish his articles on their own merits, must find his own market too. The old fourth column of the *Globe* newspaper, which ended the first page and went over to the second, and was therefore called the "turn-over," dealt night after night, six days a week, for years—it may do so still—with every conceivable sort of topic, in a semi-light, semi-serious, *dilettante* style. Few men who have "dabbled" in Journalism have not sent contributions to this column, and the majority of well-known journalists have contributed many a "turn-over" to the *Globe*. But a "turn-over" for the *Globe* would probably have a remote chance of acceptance by the London *Daily Telegraph*, and certainly would be rejected by *Punch*. The style of a paper may, of course, change from time to time, and may present a contrast to its former self as great as it formerly presented to one of its rivals. Comparisons are odious, but admirers of *Punch* could hardly fail to admit the very marked change of style which resulted from the accession of Owen Seaman to the editorial chair, after the reign of Francis Burnand, which had lasted a little too long for the welfare of the paper, had come to an end.

There is no recognized school of journalism, though attempts have been made to found them. One or two had achieved some measure of success when I knew the London Press. But journalism cannot be taught. Like the Bar, each man must strike out a line for himself when he has reached the adequate stage of knowledge, trusting more than anything else to the personal influence and example of any friend who has already succeeded, and to the bitter experience derived from personal failure or disappointment.

I worked with two men in my early days after leaving Oxford, who were conducting two journals as different from one another in character,

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style, and position, as it is possible for two journals to be, and the men themselves differed as widely as their journals and their methods. I helped them casually a few hours a week, for I was a "free lance" in those days, and I learned much from each, but what I learned differed of course like the teachers, and the lessons derived from one were of no value to me in the work I did for the other. The work of a regular staff on a big daily paper is, for the most part, of a special character, and is necessarily both routine and technical. Pitchfork a brilliantly successful "free lance" into the "sub-editor's" chair of a big daily, and—well, the paper would probably not come out at all next day. The work on a staff must be learned from the beginning, and by gradual promotion through its various stages. Some one asked at a sitting of the Industries Commission why Indians never rose to the top in big works in this country. "Because they will not begin at the bottom," was the prompt reply. No man can expect to reach any post worth having on the sub-editorial, or managerial staff, of a daily, or any other big paper, who has not worked his way through. An Editor I should say has, as a rule, to do the same, though there may have been successful editors whose work had never been other than literary before they took the editorial chair. But many a literary genius, with no newspaper experience, would be a hopeless failure as an Editor. Knowledge of the world, social gifts, wide experience, business capacity, and the power of organisation and managing men, are in some degree desirable, if not wholly indispensable in an Editor.

It is one thing to grind out articles day after day, after much study and reflection, to let the imagination develop, and the fancy play, in this direction and in that, to see your valued efforts return one after another in the familiar stamped and addressed envelope, to be finally laid aside as "rejected" after passing through the stereotyped round, and to break one's heart with striving and disappointment, and to see the fruit of earnest labour come to nothing; it is quite another thing to have a settled place in an office, where regular contributions are expected of you and are certain of acceptance, and where a definite number of hours' work in regular employment will keep the wolf from the door, while spare time is still left you to supplement your efforts by giving free play to your pen in contributions which can bide their time, so that you are not troubled whether they find a market or not. That, of course, is the goal which all aspirants to journalism would gladly reach. How then is it to be done? If there is no school; no fixed standard; no diploma, or qualification; "what am I to do," a young man might ask, "in order to get on?" I can give but one reply, "I don't know." Really, I do not, and I do not believe that anyone can give a definite or satisfying answer I will merely relate what was told me by a friend who did eventually succeed,

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through adopting a suggestion, and who became an eminent member of the Press. He had asked much the same question of the Editor of a London Daily. He had plenty of introductions, good introductions, and the kind of "chit" which seems so highly valued in India. He was told that they were of no use. They might open the door of the Editor's sanctum for a few minutes, but after it had closed behind him, their influence would cease. His name would be remembered sympathetically, but that was all. What Editors want is *good work*; the sort of "copy" which their readers like, and which popularizes their paper, and as much of it as possible; but it must be suitable, and it must be readable. "No," said the Editor, "don't rely upon favour, or recommendation. Moreover, don't fold your hands. Read, study, and write. Send round your best stuff regularly to all likely places, and keep your name constantly before the Editors. The very familiarity of the name and style will command attention and may gradually obtain acceptance. Above all, study *one subject*; read all there is to be read about it; dig it all out, make yourself master of it, and write it all up in readable articles. Never mind what your subject is. Choose something. Let it be 'buckets.' One day buckets will suddenly become a topic of the moment. Flood the Editors with your articles; some of them will know your name; your matter will be opportune and your style will be familiar. One of them may send for you and offer you a job, and you will be made."

The aspirant took the advice, and the scheme worked. He took up, I believe, the investigation of the various methods in different countries of dealing with the liquor traffic by state control. The question was rife, and the topic was popular. He saw it coming, and it came. He was master of it, and one of the leading journals discovered him and sent him on a commission to another country to investigate the problem on the spot. Not long before the War broke out, a certain dramatist suddenly broke upon the London public with some original plays, which had astounding success. For about ten years he had lived in almost complete seclusion. He had just enough to live upon, and to travel modestly, but he had nothing to spare. He worked and studied literature and drama, with a view to the construction of a modern play in an ancient and picturesque setting. He travelled to study scenery, and to learn the customs and habits of people in countries which appeal peculiarly to the imagination. He moved about in all sections of society, but he eschewed that of his friends, and any occupation which distracted his attention from the sole object of his life, or which was likely to lead him into the expenditure of unnecessary money. He stuck to his self-imposed task without reaping any benefit from his labours except the ripened experience and confidence which come from knowledge. He

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held on for ten years, without losing either heart or energy. Suddenly one of his plays was accepted. It hit the popular taste which he had studied so carefully. He leaped into fame, and within a very short time was in receipt of a large income from royalties which rolled in automatically from the various directions in which his plays were drawing crowded houses, and had a lump sum in cash put by, which he had received from the sale of rights of re-production, and which ensured him comparative affluence for the rest of his life. Of course, the case is exceptional. Few men can hold on for ten years, probably not for ten months, preparing for the future, and free from the necessity of providing for the immediate wants of the present. The struggle for existence may demand all the energies. But the lesson is obvious. The best chance of success for the modern journalist is to lay the foundation deep and solid, to master one subject at least and to be constantly on the look out for a market, but to be always ready to do any small bit of work that comes to hand.

Of style generally, it is only to be said that nothing succeeds like success, and that one must just study the style that seems to appeal to your audience. The journalist must adapt himself to circumstances. His whole career is one continual piece of opportunism. The pre-eminently successful journalist may force his own topic, and create in his audience the very interest which he seeks to utilise for his own purposes. But he is the exception, and in course of time he will find that even he must bow to the popular will. It is no use adopting a high literary tone, and disparaging the style which prevails in the market where you wish to sell your wares. You must adapt your work to it. Popular taste changes. It is notoriously fickle. The popular writer, like the popular artist or performer, must always be prepared to be dropped as quickly as he was taken up. The taste of the reading public changes as capriciously, if not with the same rapidity, as the female taste for dress. And every now and then a silent but complete revolution sets in. Compare the *Times* of to-day with the *Times* as I knew it a generation ago. All the old so-called heresies and eccentricities which were then beginning to invade Fleet Street are now commonplace features. The old staid and respectable dailies like the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Morning Post*, would have none of the personalities, the sensationalism, the screaming headlines, and the crisp colloquial jargon of the American Press whose influence was making itself felt in the ranks of English journalism. Their style was literary, serious, weighty, but heavy, laborious, and pompous. The Editorial "we" dominated their columns. The half-penny *Star* was probably the real pioneer of the new style. It was crisp, terse, personal, sensational, and practical—or "up-to-date," to use a typical Americanism. The old school despised its tone and its methods, but were conscious of its increasing circulation

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and its growing popularity. They affected to ignore the new comer, but the pretence was a hollow one. The reading public was clearly increasing rapidly. The spread of Board School education, while reducing the standard of taste, had greatly extended the area. The advent and the marked success of the new half-penny morning, the *Daily Mail*, was merely the necessary corollary of the silent changes which had been taking place. Men realized that they could get through their news in half-the-time, that it made little difference to them that the style was noisy and blatant ; it was quicker, neater, and crisper ; it seemed more in touch with the actualities of life ; if it was too personal, it was at any rate practical ; if it was didactic, it saved them the trouble of thinking for themselves ; there was no mistake about what it said, or what it meant, even if it was often wrong ; it could be quickly digested, it tickled the fancy, and awakened the imagination, and all of it for half the money. "The old order changeth and giveth place to new." The old laborious articles in the good old redundant style, with the colours laid on with a trowel, of Sala and Clement Scott, fell flat, and began to drop out of the running, and the old stagers had to give way, and either adapt their lucubrations to the new style, or to make way altogether for the more attractive wares of the dashing young men who had captured the citadel of popular favour. If Brougham or Erskine were to appear in our English Law Courts to-day with their first briefs, and address our special juries, or our Court of Appeal, in the florid rhetoric of which they were the masters, they would soon find themselves out in the cold. It is the same with journalism, only more so. If Clement Scott came to town to-day and started to work in the old style, I verily believe that he would find it difficult to get a living on the London Daily Press.

No doubt the strictly professional journalist of the present day is on the whole a superior person to his predecessor of a generation ago. But that is another question. All I have meant to suggest is (1) that there is no royal road to success. (2) Advancement can only be achieved by sheer industry and application. (3) Study and experience are as necessary to the journalist as to any other profession. (4) Literary knowledge and skill are not sufficient in themselves, but must be accompanied by a careful study of existing conditions, an appreciation of the various markets available, and a determination to adapt your wares to the popular taste.

One word of advice I would tender to the young aspirant. Avoid tall talk. Some people think that they have only got to shout loud enough, and often enough, and they are bound to get a hearing. That is true up to a point. The man who in the legislative assembly asks one hundred and one questions of the officials, is only doing

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what any one else could do if he cared to do it. For the moment he attracts attention to himself. People at first think he must be a great, an earnest, and an industrious man. But he is soon found out. It is all shop-window display. It is too obvious. The goods are not behind it. It is done to attract attention. And the audience soon wearies of it. The man is voted a bore, and even when he has something real to say, every one is tired of him, and no one will listen. He has killed his own market. So it is with writing. The popular favourite soon writes himself out. The florid, rhetorical, picturesque style, replete with quotations, and wearisome re-iterations, may attract attention for a moment. But no one can stand much of it for long. After all, Charles Lamb was right. You must have something to say.

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Eastern Philosophy and Western Science.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. GANGANATHA JHA, M. A., D. Litt.

PARADOXICAL as it may sound, India has, since the very beginnings of history, been the land of unification. In every department of knowledge and practice, it has been the aim of our best men at any rate, to trace harmony amidst disharmony, agreement amidst disagreement, and unity in the midst of diversity. As early as the Rigveda which, notwithstanding the great difference of opinion that there is in regard to its exact age, is acknowledged to be the oldest systematic record that has been handed down to us by antiquity,—we find the pregnant declaration—*ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*, the one real being the learned descibe in manifold ways. In this short aphoristic sentence we find what has been rightly called the grandest and boldest stretch of philosophic generalisation. Coming down to the Upanisads, we find this same idea presented to us in diverse ways; and sought to be brought home to us by means of a series of metaphors and parables. Up to this time, the truth of the assertion was not questioned; it is true it might have been regarded with some sort of a distant veneration, as the goal to be attained by only the select few; but that it was quite true was never questioned; to whatsoever sphere of activity man might betake himself, to whatsoever realms of speculation he might for the time being devote his attention, he never, for once, doubted the truth of the one reality underlying all phenomena ; whatever differences of opinion there were arose in the treatment and explanation of the passing details of phenomenal occurrences. It was all right so far. With the advent of the great Shankarâchârya, however—as degeneracy of thought set in on the soil of eternal unity—things took a different turn. He did not rest contented with the reassertion of the one reality underlying all phenomena; he asserted with greater vehemence the *unreality* of all things; what he asserted, with characteristic force of language, was, not only that there is one reality underlying all phenomenal diversity, but that all this diversity, all that we see and touch and hear, is unreal. In laying stress upon this negative or sceptical side of the great Philosophy, he naturally fell foul of the ordinary man of the world, who, not caring to look into the philosophy as a whole, was shocked at being told that the fire that burnt him, the tree that he saw standing before him, the fine fragrance that he inhaled,—in fact the very world in which he lived and moved,—was all unreal, a mere figment of nescience. He naturally resented this encroachment upon his most cherished conceptions; and from this point dates the now interminable struggle that we find going on in the philosophic world of India among the Advaitins, the Vishistâdvaitins, the Suddhâdvaitins, and so forth.

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In the course of our present study we shall confine ourselves to the positive side of the philosophy, and leave for future study the negative or sceptical side; because what we are going to consider to-day is—whether or not there is any foundation in fact for that grand conception of unity that has influenced the entire philosophical and *political* * life of India.

The ordinary Vedântin of the present day finds the whole idea of unity so attractive and inspiriting and ennobling that he takes it for granted, it does not provoke criticism from him, and hence it fails to incite him to serious enquiry as to whether or not there is any foundation in fact for his cherished belief. Those who are at all inclined to be inquisitive and critical,—for instance the students of the present day, among whom we class the European Vedântins, as also the Theosophists,—when they are brought face to face with the painful fact that the greater part of our worldly relations are very far from embodying the ideal of *unity*, satisfy themselves by the explanation—either that the unity of the Vendântin is not '*vyâvahârika*,' 'pertaining to worldly activity,' but '*pâramârthiki*,' 'pertaining to the ultra-mundane reality;' or that the 'unity' put forward as the ideal underlying all worldly phenomena, is *spiritual* unity. All these explanations, however correct technically they may be, fail to satisfy the earnest student, who regards them as evading the real point at issue, and seeking to explain away a real difficulty by means of words only. It shall, therefore, be our business this evening to point out that the 'unity' of the Vedântin is not purely *spiritual*, but also strictly logical and scientific.

Philosophical students we may divide roughly into two classes—which we may call the 'theistic' and the 'non-theistic;' the former are those that accept the view that the world was brought into existence by the will of some sort of a personal being; the latter are those who either deny any such personal agency, or withold their judgment upon the origin of the world, regarding it as beyond their ken. Those students that are more or less theistic in their tendencies may be regarded as unanimous in holding that the *essence* of all things—that is to say, that which makes the thing *a real entity*—consists of some sort of a portion of that Divine Being from whom the world has emanated, ensouling the thing; just as, according to Berkeley, the *esse* of things consists in their being perceived, so, according to all theists, the *esse* of things consists of their partaking of the nature of the Creator. Thus then, what constitutes the reality of things is the essence of God; as this essence must be one only, it follows that the underlying reality of all things is one and the same. What is real is only *one*, the Godhead, all else is a mere encasing of that real entity; whether this encasement also is real or not does not concern us now;

* The Indian has looked upon all men as his brothers; hence there, has been no militancy in the Indian life and character.

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it is enough for our purposes to realize that there is a *one* indivisible real essence pervading through all that is, that was or ever will be. Up to this point, as we have seen above, there is no divergence of opinion among the theistic philosophers ; their difference arises when they come to analyse the nature of the encasements of the underlying reality.

The above explanation, however convincing it may be for the theistic student, will not satisfy the other class of students, who, very serious and earnest in other respects, will not readily accept the suggestion of a personal Creator of the world ; and who would, on that account, be loath to be moved to any enthusiasm over an idea that had its source in a purely theistic conception. For such an enquirer we have to look a little deeper, and try to find, if there is not, in the very nature of things, some factor indicative of an underlying unity,—a factor that binds all things into a single community, and establishes among the units of that community an indivisible bond of unity and kinship.

The most serious philosophers of all ages have admitted the fact that in all that exists there is something in common ; something, that is, which is over and above what meets the eye. To this all-pervading *something*, the Indian philosophers of old, and (I believe) the German philosophers of Germany, have given the name of *Being*, *Sat*. The German thinkers have rested content with this, as they have had to meet an age of rank materialism ; and therefore they posited something that the most thoroughgoing materialist could not deny : certainly no thinker worth the name can deny the fact that through all that *exists*, there subsists the common character of *existence* or (more correctly) *is-ness sattâ* (in Sanskrit) ; and *Being*, as the one underlying factor permeating through all phenomenal variations, is nothing more or less than this *is-ness*. This factor of *is-ness* supplies the basis of *unity* that we are seeking. Everything is real, because it *is* ; if it *is not*, it cannot be *real* ; thus it is the factor of *is-ness* that constitutes the only *reality* of things.

It has to be admitted, however, that, having regard to human nature as it is constituted, nothing can appeal to our higher nature which has not a personal or human touch ; consequently, if our *unity* rested upon the aforesaid *is-ness* only, it could not serve the practical purpose of presenting before our minds an ideal that would act as the fountain-head of our noblest endeavours. Then again, apart from its metaphysical associations, the word 'being' or 'is-ness' is, in the common mind, connected with phenomenon, and as such fails to afford that moral leverage which was its original end and purpose ; for this it needs something higher ; and this much needed higher touch has been supplied by the Indian philosopher, (I am not sufficiently conversant with the

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recent advances in the philosophic thought of Germany to be able to say whether or not this has been done by the German philosopher also). The Indian philosopher bases the unity of all entities upon 'Being' certainly ; but going a step farther he declares that this 'Being' is only another name for 'Consciousness.' It is this *Consciousness*—that factor which is regarded by the ordinary man as peculiar to himself, or perhaps to a few of the higher evolved animals—that forms the basis of that bond of unity under which all beings—mineral, vegetable and animal—are united.

That there is some form of Consciousness underlying all existence has been recognized by Indians from very ancient times. In the West also, philosophers have, from time to time, given out to the world theories which, when interpreted in their true light, turn out to be a tacit admission of the principle that Consciousness is the basis of reality underlying all things. For instance, the various forms of Idealism that have been propounded in the West (and in the East also) come to this that things have no reality apart from *Idea*, which amounts to the same thing as to say that it is Consciousness that affords the element of reality. This being granted, it is easy to perceive that Consciousness, in its ultimate form, must be one only : this follows from its very nature : being an abstract entity, it cannot have plurality. We also know that it is Consciousness that forms the basis of all mutual response ; thus, if once we can assure ourselves that the element of Consciousness that is in *me* is the same as that which is in *you*, there is found a link, an indissoluble bond between *you* and *me*, between man and man ;—and stretching the analogy further, between man and animal, between man and vegetable, and between man and mineral,—a bond which, from its very nature, cannot be severed. This also proves that, if left to itself, untramelled by extraneous impositions, Consciousness would function alike in all centres ; and no sort of opposition would ever be possible. When once this principle is firmly grasped, we would, in all our actions, be kept alert by the idea that the ultimate effect of all that we do and think and feel, while impinging upon what we call *our* consciousness, has its bearing upon the same principle of *consciousness* as manifesting in others ; we have, therefore, to be doubly careful of our thoughts and actions, bearing as they do upon all the rest of the universe also.

That it is the same Consciousness functioning in all beings, is indicated by the researches that are now being carried on under the name of Telepathy. One man can make himself cognisant of what is passing in the mind of another person. This phenomenon is not so discredited now as it used to be ; and it is fast coming to the fore as a well-established fact deserving to be explained, and no longer to be relegated to the limbo of jugglery, charlatanry, and what not. The

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explanation of this and other cognate phenomena is very easy for one who holds by the unity of consciousness underlying all beings. If the telepathist can manage to make his consciousness free, for the moment at any rate, of the limitations imposed upon it by such extraneous encrustations as the body, the organs and even the mind itself, the field of his cognisance becomes immeasurably expanded, and there is nothing to impede his cognition of what may be passing anywhere in the world, in the mind of his neighbour, or even inside the piece of furniture before him.

Hitherto we have been confining ourselves to the more or less metaphysical aspect of the question. It is, however, not only the dreamy and speculative metaphysician and his questionable ally, the Thought-reader, that lend support to this idea. Natural Philosophy—or Science as it is popularly called—also, by slow degrees, but surer steps, is working its way up to the same ideal. [Here, I may be permitted to add, I am treading upon insecure ground ; and if there are any inaccuracies in my presentation of scientific facts, I beg to be pardoned.]

The latest researches in Chemistry tend to show that there is no finality in what has hitherto been regarded as the haven of the Chemist, the *atomic theory*, by which all things of the universe were grouped under a few substances called 'elements,' for each of which an origin was found in the 'atom,' the 'indivisible' unit, beyond which chemical analysis could not proceed ; and for each and every phase of element-manifestation a distinct kind of atom had to be postulated ; which naturally led to the postulating of as many kinds of atoms as there are elements. This theory has now turned out, under the searching eye of electrolysis to be but a step towards that unity which has been the goal of the metaphysician. The conclusion now arrived at by the Chemist is that all things, elements as well as atoms, are but various manifestations of electricity ; each atom being composed of a number of component parts, called *electrons*. We know that the only intelligible conception of electricity that the scientist can vouchsafe to us is that it is a *kind of force* ; and at this stage the metaphysician may be permitted to entertain the hope that the Chemist, by a little further stretching of that imagination which forms the motive force behind all scientific progress, will come to realize that what he calls 'electricity a kind of force,' which forms the root-force of all manifestation, is nothing more or less than what the much discredited metaphysician has called 'Consciousness,' and of which, according to him, all phenomena—animal, vegetable and mineral alike— are manifestations.

That it is the same basic Consciousness that permeates all matter and material substance has been demonstrated in the laboratory of the physicist also ; and we find a distinguished physicist writing from the

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Davy-Faraday Laboratory, of the London Royal Institution, making such declarations as the following :—

(*a*) 'In the responses of animal, vegetable and metal alike we meet with a type where the responses are uniform' (p. 184) ;

(*b*) 'Even the responses of such a highly-specialised organ as the retina are strictly paralleled by inorganic responses' (p. 189) ;

(*c*) 'Living response in all its diverse manifestations is found to be only a repetition of responses seen in the inorganic' (p. 189) ; and, lastly.

(*d*) 'The investigations which have just been described may possibly carry us one step further, proving to us that these things are determined, not by the play of an unknowable and arbitrary vital force, but by the working of laws that know no change, acting equally and uniformly throughout the organic and the inorganic worlds.'

As in the case of the Chemist, so here also, the Physicist has to stretch his imagination one step further, when he will come to the conclusion that the basis of all this uniformity lies in the unity of the underlying Consciousness that permeates through all that has any sort of existence. It is thus shown that the idea of unity underlying all existence is proved not only by the metaphysician, but also by the Chemist and the Physicist, whom we regard as the most practical among scientists, and whom (under our Indian Universities, until very recently) we used to regard as the only scientists. In the latest books dealing with the subject of response under electrical stimuli, we find the physicist joining hands with the metaphysician over a chasm that is becoming shorter day by day; and the advanced scientist of the twentieth century adopting as his guiding motto the declarations of philosophers of hoary antiquity.

At this stage of enquiry the question that suggests itself is—If it is one and the same consciousness functioning in all phenomenal existences, whence the diversity ? The presence of diversity cannot be denied; what then is it that causes the diversity in the manifestation, when that which manifests itself is even one ? This diversity we are told is due to the limitations taken by the Consciousness upon itself, for the purposes of manifestation ; it needs the limitations, as without these its manifestation would not be possible. For instance, for the purpose of manifesting in the mineral kingdom, the Consciousness has to take upon itself a coating of mineral matter ; and so forth in every phase of manifestation : without a vegetable encasement, Consciousness could not manifest itself and function in the vegetable world ; and without the animal body it could not be manifested in the animal world. For what, after all, is the 'manifestation of Consciousness' in any phase of phenomenal existence ? It is only its appearance in some form in which the distinctive matter of that parti-

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cular phase constitutes the predominating element; hence the need of the several kinds of forms, the mineral, the vegetable and the animal; in fact, formless manifestation would be a contradiction in terms; there can be no manifestation without some form, however subtle this may be. Metaphysically speaking, Consciousness *per se* is undifferentiable; and yet, without differentiation, no manifestation is possible; and differentiation implies diversity. Consequently, if it has to manifest itself, Consciousness must consent to be crabbed and cabined within limitations, and thereby lead to that diversity which thenceforth becomes the ruling principle in all phenomena.

As to how and why the first limitation of Consciousness began—this is one of those 'ultimates' of philosophy to which no really satisfactory answer can be given. The answer given by Indian philosophers is that there is no such thing as the *beginning* of Consciousness-limitation; the whole process of the manifestation of Consciousness is a never-beginning and never-ending one; moving in an infinite circle; the nature of which circle has been sought to be indicated by the example of the tree and its seed. Just as you cannot explain how or when the seed arose out of the tree, or the tree out of the seed, so also you cannot explain how and when Consciousness came to take its first limitations; the limitation is the effect of the acts of the limited or incarnated Consciousness during its preceding limited existence; and so on and on, the relation between the acts and the consequent limitation or incarnation being exactly similar to that of the seed and the tree.

Thus, then, we find that all differences, even those that appear to be absolutely necessary and real, are entirely foreign to our nature, as *conscious* beings; primarily and constitutionally, we are all one, not only all men and all animals, but all whatsoever that exists; —all is 'one only, without a second' as the ancient Indian text says.

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The Industrial Development of Japan.

By Prof. BRIJ NARAIN.

EUROPEAN methods of production were introduced into Japan about the year 1872. In that year, says Count Okuma in his *Fifty years of New Japan*, intense activity was displayed in the introduction of foreign methods." Model factories for silk reeling, spinning, and cement and brick manufacture were established by the Government, experimental factories for the manufacture of soap, printing type, porcelain, faience and paint were also set up. Training schools were established at various places for investigating and teaching new industrial arts and processes and the foundations were laid of an engineering college on modern lines.

In 1873 a great Industrial Exhibition was held in Vienna. The Imperial Government of Japan not only sent exhibits to Vienna but also a mission consisting of over seventy government officials. Some of the ablest members of the mission were sent to different European countries in order to make a study of various scientific subjects connected with industry. And when the Vice-president of the Commission returned to Japan from Europe, he brought back with him samples of piece goods, knitted work, raw materials for dyeing and weaving and other things. The result of the mission's visit to Europe was the introduction of many new foreign methods and foreign tools into Japan. In 1875 Japan took part in the International Exposition held at Philadelphia for the centenary commemoration of American independence. The exhibitions brought Japan into touch with western countries and were thus the means of introducing the latest and most approved appliances into Japan. It is useful to remember that most of the new industries which grew up in Japan during this period were established by the Government. The model factories which the Government set up cost a good deal of money but they served their purpose. The Government also inaugurated a system of *credit mobilier* for helping new enterprizes. Industrial exhibitions were also held from time to time at various places in Japan. As a result of these measures the new as well as the old industries of Japan which had suffered at first by the introduction of foreign methods, showed marked development. The Government by their example had sufficiently stimulated private enterprize and between 1880 and 1893 they sold almost all their factories to private individuals After the war with China, from which Japan emerged a victor, there was a great boom in Japanese industry. From 1894 to the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War (1904) the development of Japanese industries went on steadily. During this period, Japanese manufacturers, who were accustomed to look to the Government for support and guidance began to work on independent lines. It was also during this period that Japanese manufacturers began to produce many articles with a view to export. Business men made a tour of the world in order to study the demands of foreign markets and new markets were thus opened for Japanese industry in Australia, the Malay Islands and South America.

After the Russo-Japanese War, Japan experienced another great boom. The prices of bonds and shares rose to extraordinary heights and more than a

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thousand new companies were founded. Some trusts were formed for the first time after the great war. The replacement of steam by electric and hydro-electric power, by steam turbines or by gas engines also began after the Russo-Japanese war. The Russo-Japanese war is thus an important land mark in the industrial history of Japan though it is not directly connected with that history.

Count Okuma thus sums up the results of fifty years' industrial progress and its causes :—

"Not more than half a century has passed since new industries after European models were planted on Japanese soil, and within the comparatively short space of time the Japanese nation has not only made immense strides but also has been able to rejuvinate the old industries which had been reduced almost to a state of annihilation. Thus the Japanese have succeeded in attaining the rank of the foremost industrial nation in the Orient. What are the underlying causes of this remarkable phenomenon ? They are not far to seek, being surely the admirably opportune measures adopted by the Imperial Government for the guidance and protection of our national industries, coupled with the indomitable energy with which the people succeeded in assimilating into one harmonious whole the arts and manufactures of the East and West ; the nation's burning ambition to benefit by the application of advanced sciences, holding up before them the services which technical education would render to the cause."

Much light is thrown upon the industrial development of Japan by statistics showing the growth of Japan's import and export trade with India during the last fifty years. About half a century ago Japan's foreign trade with India was of an insignificant value. In 1872-73 the imports from Japan consisted of unwrought copper (Rs. 1,06,000), wrought copper (Rs. 78,000), other sorts (Rs. 28,000) and other articles manufactured and unmanuactured (Rs. 809)—Grand total Rs. 2,14,000 Exports of Indian merchandise to Japan in the same year consisted of gunny bags, Rs. 60 ; provisions Rs. 40 : and other articles, Rs. 1,325. Grand total Rs. 1,425. In the next year the total value of Japanese imports was Rs. 518, and that of exports of Indian merchandise to Japan Rs. 2 (Provisions Rs. 144, and other articles Rs. 61). Ten years later in 1883-84 the value of the imports increased to about Rs. 1½ lacs, the imports consisting of apparel, cabinet ware and furniture, Chinese and Japanese ware, drugs and medicines, earthenware and porcelain, copper, raw silk, tea and manufactures of wood. The total value of exports of Indian merchandise to Japan in the same year was about Rs. 29 lacs, the exports consisting of cotton twisted yarn and piece goods, hides and skins, gunny bags, vegetable, oils, provisions, teak wood and raw wool. As yet Japan had not begun to take from us raw cotton of which she purchases immense quantities now nor had she begun to send to us hosiery, silk goods, and matches, each of which she now sends to us in greater quantities than the United Kingdom. Japan purchased from us raw cotton for the first time in 1886-87, raw jute in the same year, and raw wool in 1880-81. The increase in the export of these articles to Japan is shown below :—

	Raw cotton.	Raw jute.	Raw wool
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1886-87	2,000	9,000	37,000
1893-94	1,09,38,000	2,14,000	52,000
1906-07	5,55,74,000	5,49,000	2,45,000
1913-14	19,40,13,000	19,48,000	9,000

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Japan sent us cotton manufactures for the first time in 1880-81, matches in 1881-82, silk goods in 1886-87 and toys and requisites for games and sports in the same year. But for many years the value of these imports was small. For example, the total value of imports of Japanese cotton manufactures in 1886-87 was Rs. 445; and that of matches in 1887-88, Rs. 1,000. But from 1893-94 onwards there was a steady increase in the imports of these and other manufactures, signifying a steady growth of various Japanese industries. In 1893-94 the total value of Japanese imports was about Rs. 25½ lacs, the chief articles of import being apparel (about Rs. 2 lacs) coal (Rs. 1⅛ lacs), camphor (Rs. 1 lac), tobacco (Rs. 2½ lacs), matches (about Rs. 2¼ lacs), silk manufactures (Rs. 2 lacs,) copper (Rs. 9 lacs). The total value of Japanese imports in 1893-94 was seventeen times as great as that in 1883-84. Thirteen years later in 1906-07 the imports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles alone from Japan amounted to about 1 crore of rupees or a little more than five times the total value of imports of all articles, raw and manufactured in 1893-94. In 1906-07 the Japanese imports of matches and hosiery were of a greater value than similar imports from the United Kingdom; but of silk manufactures the United Kingdom sent to us double the quantity imported from Japan.

The imports from Japan for four years, 1913-14 to 1916-17 are shown in the table given below. During the war the import of almost all manufactured articles from Japan has increased. In 1916-17 Japan sent to India many new manufactures. The table shows that the Japanese manufacturers have fully taken advantage of the situation created by the war. The cessation of imports from Germany and Austria-Hungary and the shortage of shipping encouraged imports from Japan. The total value of imports from Japan in 1916-17 was 2½ times as great as in the pre-war-year 1913-14. The share of Japan in the import trade of India was 8·9 per cent in 1916-17 as compared with 2·5 per cent, average of the five pre-war years, 1909-10 to 1913-14. The increase in the value of imports in 1916-17 is not merely due to the rise in prices, but in most cases, to a real increase in the quantities imported. The increase in exports from £15,000,000 to £170,000,000 seems to be largely due to the rise in prices.

IMPORTS FROM JAPAN.

Articles.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.
	£	£	£	£
Apparel (excluding hosiery and boots and shoes)	68,000	43,000	86,000	135,000
Art, works of	469	1,000	215	1,000
Baskets and basket ware ...	786	592	1,000	2,000
Boots and shoes	1,000	1,000	1,000	3,000
Brushes and brooms	3,000	2,000	5,000	19,000
Building and engineering materials ...	315	12,000	98,000	76,000
Buttons of all sorts	...	...	77,000	127,000
Carriages and carts and parts thereof	758	1,000	1,000	2,000
Chemicals and chemical preparations...	10,000	15,000	63,000	215,000
Chinese and Japanese ware ...	6,000	5,000	9,000	15,000
Clocks and watches and parts thereof...	14,000	7,000	10,000	9,000
Coal, cake, and patent fuel ...	83,000	45,000	6,000	522
Cordage and rope of vegetable fibre, excluding jute and cotton ...	5	15	123	1,000

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IMPORTS FROM JAPAN—*(Continued.)*

Articles.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.
	£	£	£	£
Cutlery	86	83	3,000	22,000
Cycles (other than motor cycles and parts thereof and accessories) ...	5	9	10,000	2,000
Drugs and medicines	108,000	135,000	173,000	200,000
Dyeing and tanning substances ...	60	241	1,000	5,000
Earthen ware and porcelain ...	42,000	27,000	62,000	126,000
Fire works	30	...	509	1,000
Fish	4,000	5,000	7,000	6,000
Fruits and vegetables	6,000	1,000	3,000	1,000
Furniture and cabinet ware ...	5,000	4,000	8,000	15,000
Glass and glass ware	105,000	131,000	400,000	598,000
Grain pulse or floor	1,000	15,000	4,000	1,000
Hardware excluding cutlery and electroplated ware	40,000	33,000	116,000	333,000
Instruments apparatus and appliances and parts thereof	7,000	4,000	18,000	82,000
Jewellery	306	217	845	28
Leather	3,000	1,000	6,000	21,000
Liquors	1,000	7,000	29,000	76,000
Machinery and mill work ...	10,000	10,000	51,000	88,000
Manures	628	313	13,000	10,000
Matches	260,000	460,000	704,000	603,000
Mats and matting	5,000	4,000	6,000	8,000
Copper	273,000	253,000	107,000	69,000
Iron or Steel	4	7,000	9,000	58,000
Steel	100	...	...	3,000
Lead	...	...	2,000	71
Tin	543	538	1,000	250
Total metals excluding ores ...	276,000	263,000	167,000	303,000
Motor cars and motor cycles and parts thereof	...	...	364	1,000
Oils	6,000	2,000	4,000	4,000
Oil cloth and floor cloth	2	...	223	3,000
Paints and painters' materials ...	6	55	16,000	21,000
Paper and paste board	11,000	17,000	28,000	198,000
Paper making materials	..	7	4	6000,
Perfumery	4,000	2,000	2,000	4,000
Polishes	4	...	348	2,000
Pitch and jar dammer	...	174	6,000	5,000
Provisions and oilman's stores ...	12,000	8,000	14,000	23,000
Railway plant and rolling stock ...	...	500	971	11,000
Rubber manufactures	37	9,000	74,000	54,000
Smokers' requisites	6,000	3,000	7,000	14,000
Soap	3,000	3,000	20,000	15,000
Spices	25,000	12,000	32,000	22,000
Starch	631	45	4,000	15,000
Stationary excluding paper ...	20,000	14,000	44,000	111,000
Sticks and whips	642	787	2,000	3,000

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IMPORTS FROM JAPAN—*(Concluded.)*

Articles.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16	1916-17.
	£	£	£	£
Sugar	1,000	13,000	255,000	279,000
Tea chests	7,000	20.000	45,000	86,000
Cotton : hosiery	555,000	443,000	376,000	849,000
Piece goods	117,000	192,000	460,000	1,621,000
Total cotton manufactures including twist and yarn	80,000	735,000	958,000	3,042,000
Flax manufactures	60	214	1,000	24,000
Haberdashary and millinery ...	101,000	72,000	78,000	172,000
Hemp manufactures	12	3	...	2,000
Jute manufactures	182	103	1,000	24,000
Silk manufactures	965,000	625,000	990,000	957,000
Woollen manufactures	925	683	32,000	164,000
Toilet requisites	10,000	12,000	21,000	30,000
Toys & requisites for games & sports.,	34,000	20,000	77,000	111,000
Umbrellas and umbrella fittings ...	45,000	6,000	23 000	56,000
Wax of all kinds	4,000	3,000	5,000	14,000
Timber	2,000	12,000	39,000	171,000
Wood manufactures	7,000	8,000	17,000	22,000
Articles imported by post ...	18,000	15,000	25,000	46,000
All other articles of merchandise ...	5,000	5,000	13,000	26,000
Grand total ...	3,186,000	2,966,000	4,997,000	8,888,000

II

Japanese Tariff.

Japan, though an independent state politically, did not enjoy fiscal autonomy till recently. This was because she entered into agreements with England, the United States and Holland in 1866 by which she bound herself to lower the customs duties on all imports to 5 per cent, excepting a few articles on which she might levy prohibitive duties. The representatives of the Japanese Government signed these treaties, evidently, without understanding their import, for they were unfair to Japan in that they obliged Japan to treat the Western nations on the basis of the most favoured nation clause, while Japan did not receive similar treatment from the Western Powers. Eleven years later we find Count Terajima, minister of foreign affairs, thus protesting against the treaties.

"When the treaties were first made, both the Government and the people did not understand anything about foreign commerce, and hence everything was made as the foreign powers wished, but after more than ten years of experience we know that the existing treaties infringe our rights of independence in a very material way."

He demanded the revision of the treaties and the restoration of tariff autonomy to Japan, for two reasons (1) in order to satisfy public opinion in Japan which now recognized the unfairness of the treaties to Japan; (2) because the tariff was the only means of covering the deficit in the imperial finance.

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The treaties were revisable in 1877, and the Imperial Government had sent Lord Iwakura to Europe and America in 1871 for that purpose. Lord Iwakura's mission did not succeed. Neither did Terajima's attempt to secure the revision of treaties in 1877. It failed chiefly on account of the opposition of the British minister in Japan. The third, fourth and fifth attempts at treaty revision also failed and it was not till 1899 that the revision so long delayed took place. In the new treaties, the most favoured nation clause was made reciprocal and unconditional. The customs tariff was not made autonomous ; import duties were fixed by a diplomatic document accompanying the main treaty. According to the terms of the treaty, however, Japan was to have fiscal autonomy after twelve years, that is in 1911. About the revised tariff of 1899 D'Autremer writes :—

"The general Japanese tariff, put into force in 1899 after the revision of the treaties, is very heavy for product of European importation ; the Japanese Government it is true, has accorded a conventional tariff for certain products to France, England, Germany and the United States, but in some cases, on certain articles, the duty is prohibitive.

"On the whole one may say that the Japanese custom house rate is one of the highest known and the custom officers exact the duties with great severity."

The conventional tariffs between Japan and the Western Powers expired on July 6th, 1911, and the next day the new tariff came into operation. The duties, as far as possible, have been made specific, that is payable on quantities imported and not *ad valorem*. Raw materials are admitted duty free. The duties on manufactured goods vary from 15 to 40 per cent. Articles of luxury are taxed at 50 per cent. Porter thus comments on the Japanese tariff changes.

"In 1896 the average rate of customs duties collected by Japan was not over 5 per cent, and the receipts from customs had never reached a million sterling. As Great Britain was the largest importer, the British merchants at Yokohama and Kobe were prosperous. Since then the rates have been steadily increased, and whenever it was possible without injury to Japanese industry articles from the free list have been transferred to the dutiable schedules. In 1900 the rate of duty had increased to $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and for the last five years (1910-15) it has averaged about 15 per cent. Of course, fifteen is three times five, but as tariffs go the new Japanese tariff is by no means one of the worst."

How far the development of Japanese industries before 1899 was assisted by the tariff, it is impossible to say. Except on a few articles, the duties were comparatively light and it would seem that before the revision of the treaties in 1899 active encouragement of industrial enterprize by the Imperial Government by the provision of cheap credit, establishment of model factories and in other ways, did more for Japanese industry than the custom house rate. Since 1899 however Government help to industries has been more negative than positive and Protection, evidently, has stimulated Japanese industry (see Table below). That the Japanese Government recognize the value of a Protective tariff as a means of getting revenue and encouraging industrial enterprize is shown by their anxious endeavours to recover their fiscal autonomy which they had lost by the treaties of 1866 and by the use which they made of it when they got it in 1911.

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Table showing the growth of Japanese exports :—

Exports.	1897 Yen.	19010 Yen.
Grain and seeds	6,299,000	7,418,000
Tea	7,860,000	14,542,000
Marine products	4,495,000	9,107,000
Beverage and comestibles	2,026,000	18,910,000
Tobacco	351,000	1,256,000
Animal products (skins, bones etc.)	972,000	2,811,000
Drugs, chemicals, dyes, etc	2,913,000	8,745,000
Oil and waxes	1,437,000	5,110,000
Tissues, yarns and materials thereof :—		
Of silk	72,384,000	179,387,000
Of cotton	16,575,000	68,927,000
All other	1,046,000	6,618,000
Clothing and accessories	949,000	14,042,000
Paper and manufactures thereof :—		
Metals „ „ ...	1,092,000 7,221,000	5,025,000 27,173,000
Machineries	...	3,511,000
Ores and minerals	...	17,634,000
Miscellaneous	37,515,000	68,204,000
Total	163,135,000	458,428,000

The progress of Japan in manufacture during the last fifty years has been rapid, but it should not be supposed that Japan is a manufacturing country. Like India, Japan is essentially an agricultural country. Agriculture, as in India, is the paramount industry in Japan, the industry which gives employment to the largest proportion of her population, about 60 per cent of the people being dependent upon agriculture. Taking this fact into consideration, the industrial progress of Japan during the last 50 years appears to be little short of marvellous. That the rate of advance has been far more rapid than in India is shown by the table below. The table shows that (1) Japan manufactures many articles which India has not yet learnt to manufacture, (2) exports of almost all articles from Japan to India alone exceed in value the total exports of the same articles from India. The latter fact is significant because Japanese exports to India represent only a very small part of her total exports, the percentage being $4\frac{1}{8}$ in 1910.

During the war our export trade has suffered much and therefore, for the sake of comparison, exports from India are given for the pre-war year, 1913-14.

Articles.	Exports from India. (1913—14.) £	Imports from Japan. (1916—17.) £
Apparel	41,000	135,000
Boots and Shoes	...	3,000
Brushes and Brooms	...	19,000
Building and engineering materials,	28,000	76,000
Cottons of all sorts	...	127,000
Carriages and Carts etc. ...	2,000	2,000
Chemicals and chemical preparations,	219,000	215,000
Clocks and watches ...	...	9,000
Cutlery ... ... Hardware excluding cutlery and electro	46,000	22,000

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Articles.	Exports from India (1913—14.) £	Imports from Japan (1916—17.) £
Plated ware	...	333,000
Cycles, other than Motor Cycles ...	...	10,000
Drugs and medicines ...	138,000	200,000
Earthen ware and porcelain ...	2,000	126,000
Fire works	18	1,000
Furniture and cabinet ware ...	28,000	15,000
Glass and glassware	10,000	598,000
Instruments, apparatus and appliances	533	82,000
Liquors	1,000	76,000
Machinery and mill work ...	1,000	88,000
Matches...	...	603,000
Mats and matting	2,000	8,000
Copper	22,000	69,000
Irons and steel	298,000	58,000
Total metals, excluding ores ...	432,000	303,000
Motor cars and Motor Cycles etc....	...	1,000
Oil cloth and floor cloth ...	879	3,000
Paints and painters materials ...	...	21,000
Paper and pasteboard ...	161	198,000
Polishes	...	2,000
Pitch and dammer jar... ...	...	5,000
Railway plant and rolling stock ...	10,000	11,000
Rubber manufactures ...	11,000	54,000
Smokers requisites	...	14,000
Soap	280	15,000
Stationary, excluding paper ...	4,000	111,000
Sticks and whips	...	3,000
Tobacco...	...	...
Tea chests	...	66,000
Cotton	...	...
Twist and yarn	6,554,000	354,000
Blankets	...	65,000
Canvas	...	3,000
Handkerchiefs and shawls in the piece	54,000	3,000
Hosiery	9,000	849,000
Piece goods	1,424,000	1621,000
Thread, sewing	11,000	8,000
Towels	...	384
Other sorts	24,000	136,000
Total cotton manufactures ...	8,079,000	3,042,000
Flax manufactures	1,000	24,000
Haberdashery and millinery ...	1,000	172,000
Hemp manufactures	10,000	2,000
Jute manufactures	18,848,000	24,000
Silk manufactures	37,000	957,000
Woollen manufactures ...	167,000	164,000
Toilet requisites	...	30,000
Toy, and requisites for games and sports	20,000	111,000
Wood manufactures...	11,000	22,000
Umbrellas and umbrella fittings,	9,000	56,000

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The Foundation of the Greater India beyond the seas.

By Mr. PHANINDRANATH BOSE, B. A.

THAT civilization only is truly great, rich and genuine, which sheds its bright lustre not only in the land of its birth and growth, but also over the distant countries separated by vast oceans, and sends forth her illustrious sons to give to the world abroad the richest and brightest gifts of her civilization and culture.

Such a glorious nation is the English in the present age, d such fruitful were the annals of the people of Phoenicia, eece, Rome, and finally India in the past forgotten centuries. the proudest days of her destiny, she sent forth her enter- ising sons not only to Java, Bali, Sumatra, but also to am, Siam, Cochin, Tibet, China, and even to the far distant d of the rising sun. She had frequent trading intercourse only with Africa, Arabia, but also with Babylonia.

This story of Indian colonisation of the foundation of a ater India beyond the seas, which affords an interesting dy, was so long left untouched by the great scholars. It not, however, be maintained that the oriental scholars not feel the want and necessity of a work dealing com- ensively with the Indian oversea colonies. Of others V. A. Smith did feel the want, when he said in his monu- tal work "The History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon":— A comprehensive critical work dealing with the spread of ndian colonies, institutions and arts in the Malaya Archipelago nd the neighbouring countries on the mainland is badly wanted. othing of the kind seems to exist in any language." (P. 267).

Let not the reader, however, go away with the impression hat the present attempt will fill up such a need in the field f Indian historical literature, which is reserved for worthier cholars.

The first systematic attempt to trace the Indian influence farther India was made by Phayre, who in his "History of urma" told us of a few remains of Indian culture and civiliza- on in that peninsula. After him came Colonel Gerini, who ublished his epoch-making monograph on "Researches on

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Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia and further India" at the request of the Royal Asiatic Society. Much valuable service has been rendered to the cause of Indian culture by the Dutch scholars, whose researches have almost reconstructed the history of the island-kingdoms. The Dutch Archœological Survey have earned the gratitude of every self-respecting Indian by preserving those ancient remains and monuments, which still give distinct trace of Indian influence. The labours of these Dutch scholars are sealed books to us, as very few of us can boast of a sound knowledge in the language. Of the English scholars Mr. R. Sewell has recorded an account of the remains of temples in Java in the pages of the journal of Royal Asiatic Society (1906). Principal Percy Brown of Government Art School, Calcutta, recently paid a visit to Java to study Indian painting and sculpture. Dr. A. Coomaraswami has published a few Javanese pictures of gods and goddesses.

Causes which led to Indian Colonisation.

How did ancient India come to found such a vast colony beyond the seas? That is a question, a mystery, which has foiled the attempts of many enthusiastic scholars. Many of them even held—though erroneously—that until recently India was self-contained, that there was no direct communication between India and the adjoining countries. Such an absurd theory has been exploded by the researches of many eminent scholars. Prof. Rapson takes a sensible view of the subject, when he says in his "Ancient India":—

"The importance of these observations, as bearing on the history of India, lies in the consideration that the present isolation on the landside was by no means so complete in former times, when the river-valleys and mountain passes on the East and the West of the Himalayas were open, and when the great high roads leading from China to India on the East, and from India through Baluchistan or Afghanistan to Persia and so to Europe on the west not only afforded a constant means of communication, but also permitted the migration of vast multitudes." (P. 28—9). It is now accepted by almost all the scholars that even many centuries before the birth of Christ, bands of bold adventurers went both by land and sea to *Subarnabhumi* and other places. Gradually two distinct routes grew up, one by land and the other by sea.

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Thus those who followed the land route went over to Burma. This route lay through Assam and Manipur, whence the adventurers could easily reach the land of Pagodas. By this route the Indians pressed on and on till they spread over the whole Peninsula, and even reached the southern part of China, where an Indian kingdom was established at an early date, called "Unan." This fact is testified by Chinese history. By the sea-route, on the other hand, the Dravidians and Aryans of the South, reached all the oceanic islands.

The question—which still perplexes us is—why they left the mainland to settle in those distant places far away from their beloved home and hearth. Primarily, it was for trade and commerce. It is not England alone which had her Empire extended by means of trade. Trade also paved the path of colonisation for India. The idea of earning money in some country beyond the *Kalapani* (Sea) caught the imagination of adventurers in India, and off they set to establish a trading connection between any adjoining country and their motherland. In course of time many traders and merchants began to settle in those places and make it their permanent home. It was largely through them that Indian culture and civilisation began to influence the inhabitants of the adopted country.

We are all familiar with the fact how Queen Elizabeth granted charter to the East India Company to trade with India. There was also a proud day for India, when her sovereigns too granted charters to various bodies of merchants and guilds to trade with the distant islands and countries. The Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Southern Circle (1915-16) discloses the existence of such an ancient charter. These inscriptions have been brought to light by the industry of the department concerned. They are found in a temple of the time of the Cholas, in a ancient unknown village named Mòtupalli, in the Bapatla Taluq, Guntur District. These inscriptions, among other valuable records, contain a charter granted by Ganapati Deva Maharaja to merchants trading on sea whose vessels used to set off from the port of Motupalli, or used to call there. The charter runs :—

"Seeing that protection (of my subjects) is far more important (to me) than my life, we have remitted out of compassion all (taxes) except *Kapa-sutka* (i. e.) a tax on articles of luxury,

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viz.—sandal wood, pearls, perfumes, rose-water, ivory etc.), on these enterprising (merchants) trading on the sea in order to secure fame and to maintain the principles of a righteous Government."

The indefatigable industry of modern research scholars has unearthed many an interesting document, which proves how these trading corporations built temples and even maintained an army of their own in those foreign countries. They have been discovered in the mainland of Further India and the adjoining islands. One inscription was found in Siam and according to Colonel Gerini it is engraved on a stone "just discovered at old Takua-pā (Tukopa) within the precincts of Wat-Na-Müang, in the middle of a former bed of the river on the Malaya Peninsula." The language of this inscription, we are told, is Tamil and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, of an archaic type. It is a great pity that the complete form of this valuable inscription could not be obtained. As it is, it throws a flood of light on the subject under discussion. The word *Naranam*, which occurs in the inscription, means "a temple of Vishnu." It is also said to be 'the refuge of the members of *Manigramam*' and of the members of the detachment and of the bowmen. What is this *Manigramam*? It is held to be the designation of a trading corporation. "In the 8th or 9th century there existed in distant Siam a colony of traders from the West Coast of Southern India, who had built themselves a temple of Vishnu." It is thus seen that the merchant adventurers also helped in a great way the preaching of their national religion in the land of their adoption. They invariably built temples to the presiding deity and thus popularised the Hindu or Buddhist religion, as the case may be.

The mention of Vaisnava soldiers in the above inscription, further suggests that "the South Indian colony was the result of a naval expedition and that it was garrisoned by Tamil troops." Of other inscriptions and records we shall speak in a subsequent article.

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The Work before the Hindu University—III.

By Pandit MADHO RAM.

IN my last article on the subject, I have laid great stress on the duty of the Hindu University to take steps to encourage and popularise the study of Sanskrit. I have shown that Sanskrit is the soul of Hindu civilization and any Hindu who has not studied Sanskrit hardly deserves to be called one. The Hindus have for about a hundred years been studying English Literature and Sciences. The result is that they have become ardent supporters of everything English. When Persian used to be studied by the Hindus under the Mohamedans, they naturally began to sympathise with Islamic ideals and became half Mohamedans in thought and action. The process is natural. The study of a language and its literature is bound to produce in the student great sympathy for the civilization represented by that literature. It is therefore that Pandits who know nothing but Sanskrit have very little love for the English civilization. It is in the fitness of things that the Hindu University financed by the Hindus and founded with the sole object of reviving and preserving the best in Hindu civilisation should place the study of Sanskrit in the forefront of its programme. The educated Hindus have lost touch with the thought and culture of their ancestors and it is absolutely necessary that a mighty effort should be made to bring them back to their own. Herbert Spencer and others of his way of thinking waged a relentless war against the study of ancient languages and advocated the study Science on its various sides. Similar arguments can be made in our country against the study of languages. I have very great respect for Herbert Spencer but I think his attitude in this matter can be no guide for the Hindus. Latin and Greek represented foreign civilizations in England. They had no connection with the real life of the people. As shown above, the relation of Sanskrit to Hindu-life is quite unique. The Hindu life would be dead without the inspiration of Sanskrit. Moreover the Hindus are according to their means very anxious and earnest about the study of Sciences. Promote that study in the Hindu University as much as possible but remember that there is no antagonism between the study of languages and sciences.

A Scientist if he has a good grounding in literary expression makes his expositions doubly interesting to his audience. Professor Huxley had a splendid command over his language and who can deny the fact that he expressed his scientific ideas with remarkable force and clearness.

The ideal and system of education.

I have written so far of the foundation on which the work of the Hindu University should be based. The University should be essentially Hindu in its ideals, should promote the best that is in Hindu civilization and with that object in view encourage the study of Sanskrit. But the Hindu University has been started under the patronage of the British Government. The present circumstances of the Hindu society make it necessary for us to impart education to our children on lines which our Government might approve. We have also to popularize the study of sciences in our community and right glad we are that some of our rich men and Maharajas have made princely gifts of money to the University for the encouragement of scientific study. Besides, there is the study of Indian History and Philosophy which might be conducted on critical

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lines adopted in the West. Therefore it is very necessary for our leaders at the helm of the Hindu University to be very careful in fixing its ideal and system of education. If the new University is going to have the same number of subjects and books and the same high pass percentages and the same unnecessarily stiff and unreasonable question papers for its examinations as they have in the older Universities, there would be no justification for its existence and for the solicitude of the Hindu public for its success.

In prescribing the subjects and books etc., the Fellows of the Hindu University will have to get rid of many old notions. In the older Universities, the system of education has hitherto been based on the idea that one must read a large number of books in a variety of subjects and obtain a very high percentage of marks in unreasonably stiff question papers before he can be allowed to pass his examinations. The examiners try their best to set questions which the examinees are not prepared for according to the syllabus of study. Sometimes a paper is so long that candidates find it impossible to answer it within the time allotted for it. Sometimes the questions in a paper are mostly if not entirely unconnected with the prescribed text books and the candidates find themselves at sea in answering them. When the University Commission of 1902 came to the Punjab, Mr. Robson, the Principal of the Government College, Lahore, stated in his evidence that even he would find it difficult to answer several questions set in the English papers of the M. A. Examination of the Punjab University that year. As a matter of fact, the examiners appointed by our Universities take special pleasure in setting very difficult papers and in examining the answers of the candidates very severely. That is the reason why the results of examinations in India are so very disastrous. The number of successful candidates is fifteen per cent, sometimes twenty or thirty per cent of the total number sent up. It is rarely that forty or fifty per cent of the candidates pass out of the whole lot. In fact we are so used to very low percentages of success that we are glad when the result is a bit more favourable than before. Constant discouragement has dulled our sense of wrong. At the last Shastri Examination of the Punjab University only 31 passed out of 215, yet nobody has uttered a word of protest against this slaughter. In England and elsewhere there would be a howl of indignation from one end of the country to the other if eighty or seventy-five per cent boys failed there at some University Examination. But in our country the newspapers are full of complaints against the vagaries of examiners during the examination days. After the results are out, the candidates submit to their misfortune in a philosophic mood and nobody thinks of them any more. Again the percentage of marks required to pass an examination is so high that a very small number of candidates come out successful in the first division. Why is it so? Why are the results generally so poor? Why are even the best boys in dread of being plucked at an examination in India? There are no Moderators in the Punjab University. The examiners are at liberty to set any questions however long and however difficult. Everything is left to the sweet will and pleasure of the examiners. The University has provided no check on their eccentricities. In the Allahabad University there is no system of examination by compartment. A candidate fails in one out of many subjects and passes creditably in the rest. He has got to submit himself to examination in all his subjects over again, including those also in which he had passed. The result is that sometimes a candidate passes in the subject in which he had previously

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failed and fails in a subject in which he had passed before. Why are the conscience and the common-sense of our University authorities so very dull that they cannot see the utter absurdity and folly of such a system? And in spite of the proposal by influential members to introduce the system of examination by compartment, the Allahabad University is as far from accepting it as before. Even such a widely respected and high placed educationist as the late Mr. Justice Ranade failed in his attempt to get the system of examination by compartment accepted by the Bombay University. His successors like Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad and others have been more lucky but think of the deep prejudice against improvement in the methods of education and examination. And look at the number of books our boys have got to read for their University examinations. When I appeared in the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in the year 1883, I had to read in English only a few chapters from Yonge's Book of Golden Deeds. Next year they had Cowper's Letters. Now my boy has got to read for the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University (1) Tanglewood Tales (difficult), (2) Prisoner of Zenda (very difficult), (3) Naganathan, an interesting story of Southern India, (4) Star of India (a difficult collection of poems), (5) King Arthur. I think the books numbers 3 and 4 would have been quite sufficient for the examination. Similarly there is a large number of books prescribed for the higher examination. The result is that these long courses are not finished by the classes during the fixed time and even if they are finished by working at full speed, the teachers and their pupils hardly get any leisure to think out for themselves. The same is the case with professional examinations. And yet our boys are ridiculed as being slaves of cram without possessing any originality of thought and that by men who are themselves responsible for devising this unreasonable system of education which makes it impossible to avoid cram. The strain of education on our boys is positively crushing. Though the parents do their best to keep their children comfortable at school and college, yet a good many of our students lose their health. Weak eyes, weak chests, bad liver and bad digestion are the common ailments of our graduates and under graduates. But those of our young men who are lucky enough to go to England come back in splendid health after passing their examinations with credit, even if they had failed to pass their Matriculation or First Arts Examination in India. Everyone of us has come across such instances. It is a sad commentary on the system of education and examination prevailing in India. Have the authorities of the Hindu University considered that our national life suffers a severe loss when a large percentage of our boys are plucked at an examination? Our boys are giants of industry; they read for nearly 12 or 14 hours a day and yet according to impartial observers, how poor is the result of their labour. The late Mr. Sathianadhan of Madras who had very great sympathy with his countrymen gives it as his opinion in his famous book named "Four years in an English University" that "the Indian Universities are merely examining and degree-conferring corporations and even as such, they are failures owing to the absence of fixed principles for their guidance in the selection of examiners and the moderation and revision of examination papers, the constant variation in the standard of examination and the absence of men of deep intellectual culture and wide educational experience. In fact the whole system is based upon a false principle which is to make education subsidiary to examination and not examination to teaching." It would be very easy to cite similar opinions expressed by other distinguished men.

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Another great difficulty in our system of education is caused by the idea that the study of English is the be-all and end-all of an Indian's life. No body can deny the great part which the study of English has played in bringing about an upheaval of our national life. All the movements for political, social and religious reform in our country have derived their inspiration from our contact with English life and literature. A deep study of the sturdy life of the English people has opened our eyes to our pitiful condition as compared with other nations of the world and made us realize the absolute urgency of hard, organized and systematic work to bring about vital changes in the political, industrial and various other sides of our life. India is astir because of her English education. But when I have said all this, I cannot help entering an emphatic protest against the extreme views which are now held by a class of Europeans and Indians about the place of English in our life. According to these gentlmen, the study of English is an end by itself. That is the reason why you find so much importance being attached to the study of English in our schools and Colleges. After a few years' stay at school, students are required to udy every subject in English. In the High Schools and Colleges, English is the medium of instructions for almost every subject. Translation from English into Vernacular and *vice versa* is looked upon with disfavour and the direct method of teaching English has become the idol of the day though not many are qualified to work it. The result is that our graduates forget their vernaculars and develop a strong desire for reading, speaking and writing English. Just as they feel very happy when dressed like a European, their pleasure is immense when they are carrying on their conversation and correspondence in English. A very small number study vernacular literature. A large majority of them read English books, good, bad and indifferent. This taste is acquired at considerable expense of money, time and health. And what is the substantial gain from this overdosing with English. The subjects studied in English are generally not assimilated by the students. They read Physics and Chemistry, Biology and Zoology, History, Economics and Philosophy at College for some years through the medium of English under considerable physical strain, but after a few years' work in the world away from College, they if not engaged as teachers forget almost everything. If all these subjects had been studied through the medium of a vernacular, they would have been more easily assimilated by the students and would have formed apart of their permanent knowledge ready for use in practical life. The new scientific ideas have not come to the knowledge of our masses simply because English is the medium of instruction and examination even for the High Schools. I would not be surprised if the Europeans alone were in favour of retaining English as the medium of instruction and examination. They are so much enamoured of their own language that they do not care to study the vernaculars of the country. The Government has tried to encourage the study of Indian languages by European Officers by giving them big prizes but the Europeans do not care to qualify themselves in that line. The Police Officers and Judicial Officers who have to do so much with the affairs of the Indians remain perfectly ignorant of their languages. Old officers who dispose of civil, criminal and revenue work have all to be supplied with English translations and notes of the vernacular record by their readers before they give any decisions. In the Chief Courts and High Courts, old civilians and Barrister Judges who have spent their life-time in India decide the cases coming before them only after nearly the whole record has been translated into English and printed for their use. This translation and printing proves very costly to the

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litigant public, and some people do not send up appeals owing to their inability to meet these expenses. Our European Educational Officers do no better. They are equally ignorant of the vernaculars. They lecture to the College classes in English. There is no incentive for them to learn the vernaculars. And that is exactly the reason why they are constantly harping upon the poor knowledge of English which they say is displayed by the boys who join a College after passing the Matriculation Examination. Hence the cry for making the English course for Matriculation sufficiently stiff and long and for keeping English as the medium of instruction and examination. Similarly are the English courses for the higher arts examinations unreasonably long and stiff and comprise some books which should not be there. I can very well understand this insistent advocacy of English coming from European officers of the Government. But I feel simply staggered when I find my own countrymen trying to discourage the vernaculars in the name of patriotism. A few years back an Honourable member moved in the Supreme Legislative Council that the vernaculars be made the medium of instruction in Secondary Schools. This highly useful proposal was opposed tooth and nail by many prominent Indians including Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee. And all this opposition was made according to them in the best interests of the country. The progress of the Indian people, said they, would come to an end if English ceased to be the medium of education in our High Schools. As a dependancy of England, India is in the vortex of the struggle in which the various nations of the world are engaged for self-preservation and improvement. India should therefore be up to date and that is possible only through our boys reading English from the earliest stage. This point of view was not peculiar to the members of the Supreme Council. In spite of the vows of our people in favour of the Swadeshi movement and in spite of the great stress that is being laid on all sides on the need of our people cultivating the spirit of self-respect, there are patriotic gentlemen all over the country who are enamoured of everything English. According to them it is absolutely necessary that we should stick to English as the medium of instruction from as early a stage as possible. These gentlemen forget that Japan, France, Italy and other countries are as much in the vortex of the world struggle as the Indians perhaps more. But they have not made English the medium of instruction in their educational institutions. Their patriotic instinct is much stronger than that of the Indians, but they try their best to study and improve their own national languages and literature. Some of them study foreign languages also but the proficiency which the Indians acquire in the use of English is undreamt of in Japan and elsewhere. But this proficiency has made very little impression on the life of our masses. In fact it has widened the gulf between the educated and the uneducated people. I do not say that our educated men have no sympathy with their uneducated brethren or do not wish that justice be done to them, but their points of view are generally different. Why then should our educational institutions insist on our learning English so that we may speak and write English like Englishmen.

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India at the Economic Gateway.

By Mr. THAKORELAL M. DESAI.

THE 'high cost of living' is a phrase that is in every mouth and a thought in every mind. Everyone of us, man or woman, rich or poor, thinks of it in some one set of terms or another. A babe if it could think, would think of it in terms of scarcity or adulteration of milk. A poor man, no doubt, thinks of it, in terms of bread and vegetables. A comparatively better off man thinks of it in terms of coarse clothings for fine ones and no soap for inferior soap. Even a rich man thinks of it in terms of petrol, motor car and mileage. And still the wonder is, we all of us, or very many of us, at any rate, go on as ever, undisturbed out of our old-world, set formulæ of beliefs and actions. At least that is what one finds in Western India. Few of us have made any real attempt to transcend this mere symbolic thinking at odd times and come to a decision as to the factors in our life, that have brought us to this *impasse* or worse still, realise the exact significance of it at this critical moment, in the near future of our short life and the distant one of our children's. To look unconcerned in the face of a menacing evil might be a sign of greatness of soul; but it is a sign also of sheer bravado.

Compared with other nations, India has been, from its earliest known history, very indifferent to economic considerations. Not that it lacked that keen application or that it had too much of what Hegel attributes to it as its main characteristic—dreaminess—about it, so that it could not set about to attain to that dizzy height of economic greatness, that characterises some of the nations in the world of to-day. If it did not do that, which it is very doubtful to say, it was for quite different reasons from what we are apt to give. The Indian people in those days, never wanted much and what they wanted they got in plenty. Hence an utter absence of grim and insoluble economic problems marks the earliest period of Indian History. A problem arises when one wants a thing and cannot have it. They did not want an exclusive economic greatness. They wanted many other things. I do not for a moment want to insinuate that they were wrong in thus ignoring what is at present to us a vital part of life. Nor again is it meant to find a fault with the exclusive development of the West, or at least what looks very much like that, along this line. Let this serve us for the moment as two facts in our considerations, without our attaching any moral or spiritual values to either.

This spirit of economic indifference—an economic greatness might have accompanied it—of the East, especially of India, was quite compa-

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tible with the spirit of the time. Every country was comparatively isolated. Naturally therefore for every people, the attempt was limited to work out its own destiny in its own way. No one then troubled itself to go and have a hand in the guiding of others' affairs or to guard against any such serious attempts at the hands of others. There were few international affairs and the few that there were, were far less complicated than what they have been in later times. The idea of world-federation, world state, league of nations, the Parliament of Man and of all people working out their destiny in close co-operation, hand in hand, did not loom in the horizon of the then existing species of civilisation. India as any other country had begun to work out its way and had laid down its general principles to work in accordance with. An all-inclusive economic greatness was not a part of their programme. They advanced a considerable part of their way, on the lines they had laid down undisturbed. Little by little, every principle was ingrained in the blood of our people. Little by little, our very spirit moulded itself in accordance with these principles for its practical and objective realisation.

It did not however last longer than that. This quiet unassertive activity was soon disturbed and a new phenomenon confronted a greater part of the spiritual world. We were asked at the point of sword, either to embrace the Islamic Faith or to lay down our life for our obstinacy. That problem was some how or other solved though at an immense cost. Its influence both on our economic attitude and our economic situation though great was to be succeeded by a still greater transformation. However, we had better not anticipate. We were subjected to an economic exploitation but the rigour of it was softened by two important facts. First, it was not systematic and did not happen to be the sole aim of the conqueror. Second, much of what was taken by force from us remained still in the country, and was not used as capital against our economic progress as we witness it in later times. These two facts took the edge off the tyranny and therefore it left our economic attitude very much the same.

At this stage the new civilisation began to stir out of its narrow limits. Asia and Africa, in fact the whole of the unEuropean world began to interest Europe. Successive and successful raids were organised by the more enterprising nations. That was accompanied by the talk of their philanthropic purpose. They congratulated themselves upon the fact that God had placed the responsibility of initiating these races to a new meaning of life and its end, aim and function, in fact to a new civilisation. This if one were to be candid, was a sort of self-deception. A whole nation or even a number of nations are as much capable of self-deception as any individual. Their underlying purpose was different. It was and is still, more political and economic than religious and philanthropic. They just wanted to have a sanctioning name given to their activity which

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otherwise, at times, might have filled their hearts with despair. We were thus subjected to their spiritual and temporal ministrations.

In this influence of the West, we were confronted with a greater and far more subtle, less tangible but more powerful problem than we had faced just before. It lay mainly in having to deal with an altogether foreign mass of to-us-meaningless-or-at-least-unmeaning ideas, strange ways of behaviour, strange notions of politics and morality and the strangest of all notions and methods of advance or progress; I mean the economic view of things, soul, world, spirit and everything. Another phase of that problem was an enforced invitation, a little later on to co-operate, to participate in a new world policy, where there was not the idea of the destiny of a nation, but the destiny of all peoples, of humanity, to be worked out, not according to the respective ideas of the each people involved but according to certain principles which all could not bring themselves to put their faith in. Still having been first politically disabled, we could not retire and reluctantly joined hands with them in the huge effort. Once again I must repeat, I do not mean to pass a judgment. This is only what one reads in history.

The result of this, as was inevitable, was two fold. India, having worked quite a long way up in its own way, in its time, now carried a considerable burden of the consciousness of its past and of its own principles in proportion to its labour. It could not bring itself to renounce it at so short a notice. No people can. Breaking off from the old ways is at all times very difficult, especially so when the old ways have had a fairly long time to establish their sway. We find a very significant contrast in Japan of to-day. It is a nation in all respects oriental and still it could so readily and easily adopt itself to Western ways of thought and life, both individual and national, because of the absence of a similar heavy burden of its past. We too made an effort. But it was only half-hearted. We never did really succeed. Little by little, we lost or got rid of our ancient inheritance, but the whole of our energy was exhausted in it and therefore we acquired little beyond the form of the new. Its matter, its essence, has never been really grasped by us in its entirety. After a struggle we soon lost our habitual indifference to facts economic, our sublime and simple dignity in the consciousness of poverty, both our economic contentment and our intellectual keenness and aggressiveness. We became more and more slaves to things and freed ourselves from the serfdom of ideas, without acquiring the additional power to evolve these things. I mean that we did not gain in bargain, for every inch of power that we allowed the world of things to have over us, an inch of power over that world, which in the West has gone side by side. Besides, we did not acquire after years of association, that economic aspect of the world, the thinking of it in economic terms, what one would like to call economic imagination.

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The second effect was due to the method of the new movement. Co-operation, healthy participation, even honourable subjection are impossible only when all the parts have a tangible and real independence in some form and a sense of responsiblity. The West could not do without the East. It repeatedly turned to it for the realisation of its great and noble dream—for it is a dream still—of all nations marching together with the march of time. It had the sense to see that for the realisation of this dream the participation of the East was absolutely necessary. But it had not the large-mindedness, the superior political imagination the selfless devotion to the task once undertaken, to see that the mere subjection of the East, the involuntary homage of it to the greatness and the nobility of this effort, the mere leading on, pushing on of peoples who were not an inert mass of materials for the use of the Europeans, would not do. That not only it would not help but in the long run, it would be a suicidal policy, that it would kill the effort or create a huge deadlock, which the West would have to sacrifice all its past to get over, it could not see. The deadlock or the suicide, goodness knows what it is going to prove, is the present war. The Europeans as a whole are very petty minded and yet very sublime. This however only by the way.

So we stand now. I mean both the East and the West. We are slaves to things over which we have no corresponding sway. The West is trying to struggle on with a pair of feet that in its own folly and short-sightedness it has tied together with a strong rope. They however, I have no doubt, are able enough to extricate themselves from this knot, not of course without much injury. One cannot but have that much confidence in their ability.

To return to India. We, as I observed before, stand at the gateway of a huge possibility worthy of our past and no less worthy of our future. We find ourselves engaged in an indomitable, bold world-movement, from which we have stood aloof for centuries past. Involuntarily we have been dragged into it. The question now is, why not join voluntarily and help the cause which is not at all an ignoble one, with the best of our efforts. The principle of every nation working out its own destiny is now no longer recognised in the abstract. After a time we shall learn that it is no more to be recognised in the concrete. If one reads one's history aright one will find that every phase of it, every event in it with a few exception, for a few centuries past, has been either bringing this principle directly into the forefront or at least has tried to remove some of the obstacles from its way. We are told that the purpose of this war is to secure self-determination, for every people. If we understand by it an isolated self-determination, we should be making a very sorry mistake. Even if it were meant to be so it cannot for a moment be possible. The West

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with its temperament, its history, its philosophy and most of all with its traditions, cannot help either crushing or lifting up what it thinks to be its weaker, backward or mistaken neighbours. As a part we may all want to be self-determined and go our own way. From the aspect of the humanity the world-state, where every nation is entangled in countless ways, we have to accept the ultimate principles of national existence and national advancement, that are decided upon by the whole or at least by its more powerful members and therefore we have to give in here and give in there. No people now can have both its policy and the working of it out in its own hands. The former it must borrow more or less—it may have a voice in the determination of it—the latter it might control more or less.

The present economic situation of India was inevitable looking to the forces of the past. Our complete subjection to things must now (if we want to exist as an individual people in the midst of the whole and there is no other choice but to stand so or extinct our race,) must be accompanied by a mastery over things. The little apathy that still lingers on as a shadow of a sublime past, must now give way to a healthy effort to take part and not an ignoble part, in the struggle which we now can no more look on from a distance and smile at. There is at present a sense of desparation, in the economic field. That will not for a moment do. All it will do, if it stays along, will be to kill us all the more speedily economically.

Another great danger or benefit, let us see what it proves in the long run, is in the fact that poverty enobles and armours some men spiritually, while it enervates, hardens, causes to degenerate and dries all currents of noble emotions in, some people. It all depends upon the use we make of this circumstance. Whether we are to go along in the march of the world successfully with other people, retaining our own spiritual stamp or as a prey to this poverty we are going to lower ourselves to the lowest depths of degeneration, of material subjection, of brutal existence and ultimate annihilation now remains to be seen. It all depends upon how we take this crucial circumstance and utilise it. If we did it in the right way, it will be no doubt a proof of our boasted spiritual outlook.

We must next guard ourselves against one of the greatest evil effects of the economic struggle of to-day. It is a fact that an intense and prolonged economic strain more often than not kills all aesthetic appreciation, all possibility of aesthetic experience of not perhaps a sensuous type but a higher type. It will be the very bane of our people, if as a result of this new reconstruction, we annihilate our aesthetic self. That is one of the many signs of the greatness of the soul of a people and with the loss of this very delicate yet very useful part of life, we might lose much of life itself.

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As to organisation of the economic life of the individuals, one can strike upon one or two considerations. We have to make an onward move economically and also to save our soul and all the higher functions of it. It is one of the grimmest of struggles to pass through a stern economic ordeal, a severe strain, and to emerge from it with one's heart and soul unscathed and pure as ever, in its original and childlike state. To be acute from the worldly point of view and at the same time not to let one's soul permanently take that worldy taint is a task worthy of the proudest of men. Let us save our skin and at the same time let us save our soul. This is possible only if we, each of us individually, make ourselves free from that now effeminate indifference to things and matters economic. In the present day affairs there is no real independence to economic situation possible. The seeming indifference in many of us is very often want of ability or sham, diseased sentimentality or a mistaken understanding of the world forces. We must throw ourselves heart and soul into the economic struggle that is so keen about us, be we rich or poor. We must not be half-hearted about it. But at the same time we must take care first to preserve some safe and shady and silent corners to retire from that struggle when we want, to and secondly to see that we do not bring our heart and soul soiled into the shady corners. We must neither lose nor sacrifice other values. Not a stain of blood, not even the smell of sweat, but all sweetness and innocence, all purity and childlikeness must be welcome when we retire into the closest of our own personality in solitude or within the precincts of the lives of those near and dear to us. It does not mean that we must not let our near and dear one's minister to our wounds received in the outer world of action. I only want to indicate a particular attitude of the soul.

In the modern world, in the new civilisation, in the society of to-day it very much matters what one is worth economically. One's culture, one's peace of mind, one's very well-being, depend very largely on one's income. Culture, large-mindedness, liberal attitude, a generous heart, a sympathetic imagination as we understand them to-day are possible when one has a well-lined purse. We need not here pass any judgment on this. It is a fact of the world in which we live and we must take note of it. Also it is not for the single individual, why, not even for a single nation, however powerful, to change this fact immediately. Also for the individual, as much as for a nation, it will not do to retire from it because the individual thinks it to be a detestable fact. Whatever it is, it is and let not the individual be behind in the race, at least so far as his natural and acquired abilities are capable of bearing him up. There is no romance about money, there never was much, there never will be any.

This discussion does not aim at any pessimistic construction being put upon life. The present war has disheartened many a noble soul.

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I think of it as all the more reason why we should be optimistic. This war as we have observed before is a sign and also a result of the deadlock, owing to the partly irrational methods and the uncertain grasping of the spirit of their own movements, by the West. It is however, as much an effort to get over that deadlock. God at critical times, in history of human existence has set the whole machinery back or suspended it, whenever He saw that the working out of the true spiritual world destiny was in peril. This is a huge effort at reconstruction and one may be sure at the end of this stifling and terrific yet wholesome be, a greater part of humanity, will find ourselves free from some of the grossest evils of our age and from some illusions owing to which an irrational social organisation kills most that is good, in its component parts, to a certain extent. We must be much mistaken, very very much mistaken if we do not gain at least this from the war.

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Cochin: A Progressive Indian State.

By Mr. C. D. NAYAR.

WITHIN the last six years Cochin has had occasion to witness two Royal *Shastipoorthy* (or completion of the sixtieth birthday) celebrations, one that of the late Ruler (25th December, 1912) and the other that of the present Ruler. The subject that is of immediate and living interest to us now is the Jubilee of the sixtieth Birthday of Sir Rama Varmah Atham Thirunal, G.C.I.E., the Rajah of Cochin. This important and auspicious event came off on the 5th October, 1918, and it was with a joy unprecedented in the annals of this country that it was kept up; for, in the person of the present Ruler the people have a Rajah to their liking. In an address presented to him on the occasion of his Installation ceremony on the 21st January, 1915, the people of Cochin expressed their joy and appreciation in the following words :—" The country has reasons not only to congratulate Your Highness but has also grounds to wish itself joy on this auspicious occasion. For no Prince has come to this high position with a better equipment than has Your Highness to-day, to discharge adequately the difficult and, at times, delicate duties that appertain to this exalted office. To Your Highness' inborn intelligence, trained and chastened by culture and an experience of a wide and varied character, Your Highness' knowledge of the political and economic problems of the day, and the ability to apply it successfully to local conditions, Your Highness' devotion to duty and keen desire further to develop the resources of the country, and increase the welfare of its people, and, above all, Your Highness' simple, amiable and accessible ways—to these, we, Your Highness' subjects, are no strangers. We are confident that the rare combination of these qualities will secure to the State a further development in all useful and practical directions so as to enable it to enjoy the full benefit of an approaching ampler day."

These words prognosticated a brilliant future for their country, and it is a matter for satisfaction that taking stock of the situation of the country to-day, the people have not been belied in their expectations. The present ruler ascended the Musnad on the 7th December, 1914, "as a novice in the art of administration" as His Highness himself admitted in the course

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of his reply to the peoples' address alluded to above—and that also amidst various disheartening circumstances, such as war, dislocation of trade and industries and crippled finances. It was therefore with no pleasant feelings that His Highness took up the responsibility. Things happened in such a way—the late Ruler's abdication and certain other matters—that it fell to the lot of His Highness to be King unto the people of Cochin at this stage in its history. Though when he came to the throne, his experiences of administration were almost *nil*, his age (56th year) has fortified him with a large and varied experience of life and has also given him a long and uninterrupted opportunity to watch the administration of the State and the advancement of its people under the rule of his predecessor whose anxiety and desire for bringing this State into the front rank of Native States was more often than not outrun by an inordinate haste which gave him hardly time to consolidate the various improvements effected. Thus at the time when the present Ruler took up his regal responsibilities he found the situation rather perplexing to an ordinary mind. First and foremost, there was the difficulty of succeeding a past reign surcharged with continued activities for nearly two decades. Next came the change in the angle of vision of the people Education has opened the eyes of his subjects to their rightful claims and they knew the responsibilities and powers of a King who for that reason had to deal with a public who contested every inch of ground in their onward movement. Then again the wants of the public were many. To remain indifferent to those wants meant confusion and discontent among the people, and to give them all that they want meant money. The situation in regard to finances was sufficiently confusing inasmuch as all possible sources of income had already been tapped. And what is more the previous régime (as could be seen from the Administration Report for 1914-15) had left behind a legacy of heavily increased expenditure in the way of official salaries and departmental expenses which must remain a permanent fixture for some years to come. Added to this the sources of ordinary income were clouded with a good deal of uncertainty, such as Land Revenue, Salt and Forest. As regards to the surplus in the Treasury, this had also been drawn upon occasionally in the previous régime and had dwindled down to som where twelve lakhs of rupees. To crown all the war had broken out and the ever-increasing industries and commerce of the country had received a setback.

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Any other Ruler would have quailed before such a task, but His Highness Sir Rama Varmah, G. C. I. E., the present Ruler of Cochin, took it up with a manliness and kept himself at the helm keeping a close watch over the administration. The many-sided education he had received in his early days the extensive worldly experience he had gained in the course of his long travels all through India and his natural democratic turn of mind, all stood him in good stead. And to-day the financial position of the country is more than satisfactory, as may be guaged from the following concluding portion of the Budget Report for 1918-19 :—"Notwithstanding the stress of the past few years the financial position of the State is at the moment distinctly satisfactory. The ten lakhs debenture loan has been fully liquidated, the credit balances amount to nearly 25 lakhs and the year 1094 M. E. (1918-19) is expected to close without a deficit in spite of heavy abnormal expenditure."

By such a sudden transformation in the general finances of the country, it is not to be surmised that His Highness' Government have in any way been parsimonious in their expenditure. On the other hand, they have been very liberal. The expenses under Education (and this forms one of the important sinews of a progressive policy) has been considerably enhanced within the last four years, and the major portion of the allotment under this head was always diverted towards the extension of primary education in rural parts. The education of the back-ward classes has received increased attention at the hands of the Durbar. Special attention has been paid to agricultural improvements. The Agricultural Department has been re-organised and put on a more useful basis. In the matter of granting scholarships for agricultural education and of organising agricultural exhibitions under village Punchayats and of giving freer and more liberal scope for the extension and successful working of the Co-operative Societies, His Highness' Government have neither stinted time nor money. His Highness is a firm believer in the principles of self-government. He is not autocratic ruler, and his desire has always been as he has expressed on various occasions, to associate his people in an increasing measure with the Government of the State; but the only thing is he would like to have such measures conceived in the best and truest interests of the people and not for mere spectacular effect. This is evidenced in his attitude

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towards Village Punchayats which well-managed, could be made the nucleus for the introduction of future self-government in the country. The number of Village Punchayats in the State has increased from 5 to 40 during the present reign and it would seem to be the express object of His Highness that every village in the country should be served by a Punchayat within the next few years. All the Punchayats have been of great service to the people in various direction and they have also in some cases been able to create a spirit of mutual trust among them. Some of these Punchayats have been entrusted with judicial functions and this means a material enlargement of their sphere of activity. The period of probation for these Punchayats may be said to be over and their future usefulness is sure to increase under the fostering and judicious care of His Highness Government. To sum up, in no sphere of public work has His Highness been unmindful of his responsibilities, and he has been able to keep up to the royal promise he made to his people on the day of his installation in the following words:—"I desire nothing better than to devote myself to the good of my State and my people, and it will always be my fervent endeavour to seek the justification of my stewardship in their well-being and happiness."

These are things that have already been achieved under circumstances not of a very encouraging nature, and there is no doubt that a brighter and more prosperous future awaits this country under the rule of the present Rajah. And there is proof for it in what he said to his people on the 7th instant when he received an address of congratulation from his loyal and devoted subjects. I would let His Highness speak in his own word :—

"You have referred to the development of the many-sided activities of national life. There are under examination at the present time projects, which, if found feasible will I hope, develop substantially the resources of the State and open up new avenues of material prosperity to the people. * * * * All these projects hold forth the promise of material benefit to the State and if, after all the details have been worked out with care and circumspection, I am assured that that promise will be translated into actuality, I will take steps to see that no unnecessary delay is allowed to occur in executing them. Nor will your desire for constitutional advance be without fruition. Steps will be taken without unnecessary delay to frame a scheme which, while meeting your legitimate aspirations, will afford a satisfactory training ground and preparation for further advance. During the short time that I have been privileged to guide the destinies of the State I have ever endeavoured to place in the forefront the best interests of the people. That principle will, I need hardly say, continue to rule and animate all administrative measures for which I am responsible."

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THE

Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :— A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, — unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

The Poetry of Toru Dutt.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B. A., B. L.

THE first great voice in the realm of English poetry by Indians is that of Toru Dutt. She was remarkable more for her promise than for her performance, because the fragile blossom of her life was plucked by the cruel hand of Death too early to enable the world to benefit by the full fruition of her wonderful powers. Her poetry has special and distinctive merits not found in the later English poetry by Indians and shows to us bright fields of poetic achievement, open to great poets in the wonderful future that awaits our beloved motherland.

Her genius unfolded itself amidst ideal and poetic natural surroundings. Mr. Edmund Gosse, the great author and critic who introduced Toru Dutt's poems to the English public by writing an introductory memoir, says in the memoir, "In a poem now printed for the first time Toru refers to the scene of her earliest memories, the circling wilderness of foliage, the shining tank with the round leaves of the lilies, the murmuring dusk under the vast branches of the central casuarina tree. Here, in a mystical retirement more irksome to an European fancy than to an oriental reality, the brain of this wonderful child was moulded" Toru Dutt's description of the casuarina tree shows what a sensitiveness to beauty of form and of association is hers.

"Like a huge python, winding round and round
The rugged trunk, indented deep with scars
Up to its very summit near the stars,
A creeper climbs, in whose embraces bound
No other tree could live. But gallantly

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"Like a huge python, winding round and round
The rugged trunk, indented deep with scars
Up to its very summit near the stars,
A creeper climbs, in whose embraces bound
No other tree could live. But gradually

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The giant wears the scarf, and flowers are hung
In crimson clusters all the boughs among,
Whereon all day are gathered bird and bee :
And oft at nights the garden overflows
With one sweet song that seems to have no close,
Sung darkling from our tree, while men repose.

(Our Casuarina Tree).

Mr. Gosse's introductory memoir to Toru Dutt's *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* gives a full and interesting account of her life and work and it is needless to deal with these details here. Toru Dutt's "*Sheaf gleaned in French fields*" appeared in 1876. It consisted of a selection of translations from nearly one hundred French poets and is of varying merit. Her romance of "Le Journal de Mlle. D'Arvers" describes scenes from modern French society. Mr. Gosse says : "It is less interesting as an experiment of the fancy than as a revelation of the mind of a young Hindu woman of genius. The story is simple, clearly told, and interesting ; the studies of character have nothing French about them, but they are full of vigour and originality. .....It deals with the ungovernable passion of two brothers for one placid and beautiful girl, a passion which leads to fratricide and madness." But *Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* are "her chief legacy to posterity" in Mr. Gosse's words, and in spite of obvious imperfections, are full of great poetic beauty and spiritual charm.

Toru Dutt was the youngest of the three children of Babu Garu Chunder Dutt. His son Abju died in 1865 at the age of fourteen. The elder daughter Aru was born in 1854 and Toru was born on 4th March, 1856. The girls spent their childhood mostly at their father's garden-house in Calcutta. One year of it was spent, however, in Bombay. In Toru's thirteenth year, her father took her and her sister to France. She learnt French and English there but, as Mr. Gosse says: "To the end of her days Toru was a better French than English scholar. She loved France best, she knew its literature best, she wrote its language with more perfect elegance." Her father took her and Aru to Italy and England ; and the sisters attended for a short time the lectures for women at Cambridge. They went back to Bengal in November 1873. Mr. Gosse says : "The four remaining years of Toru's life were spent in the old garden-house at Calcutta, in a feverish dream of intellectual effort and imaginative production. When we consider what she achieved in these forty-five months of seclusion, it is impossible to wonder that the frail and hectic body succumbed under so excessive a strain." Aru died in July 1874. Toru's bright career came to a premature and lamented close on 30th August, 1877.

In regard to the masterpiece of Toru Dutt's genius depicting in beautiful and easy-flowing verse the soul-moving stories of the Hindu race, we, while acknowledging in full measure the originality of the gifted poetess in revealing to the world the treasures of thought and emotion imbedded in such stories, must not fail to realise the imperfections and limitations of her achievement. Mr. Gosse says : " In these last we see Toru no longer attempting vainly, though heroically, to compete with European literature on its own ground, but turning to the legends of her own race and country for inspiration. No modern Oriental has given so strange an insight into the conscience of the Asiatic as is presented in the stories of ' Prahlad' and of 'Savitri', or so quaint a piece of religious fancy as the ballad of ' Jogadhya Uma'. In these poems she seems to be chanting to herself

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those songs of her mother's race to which she always turned with tears of pleasure. They breathe a Vedic solemnity and simplicity of temper, and are singularly devoid of that littleness and frivolity which seem, if we may judge by a slight experience, to be the bane of modern India." This is an excellent description of the essential qualities of style and sentiment in the poems. Another passage in the same memoir, however, shows us another important aspect of the same matter. Mr. Gosse says therein : "She was pure Hindu, full of the typical qualities of her race and blood, and as the present volume shows us for the first time, preserving to the last her appreciation of *the poetic side of her ancient religion*, though faith itself in Vishnu and Siva had been cast aside with childish things and replaced by a purer faith." The great dreams and stories of the Hindu race are, unlike the classical legends which have been the inspiring and rejuvenating forces in regard to mediæval and modern European literature, full of life and spiritually uplifting power. They are not valued merely for their elements of beauty and the human side but for their spiritual appeal and the divine emotions that they inspire in the hearts of men and women. They are as alive and real to us as the life-history of our dearest kith and kin. Those that go to them for their poetic value *alone* see only the fair garments of the spirit of Beauty but do not see and hear.

"That fair Beauty which no eye can see
And that sweet music which no ear can measure."

This is the reason why Toru Dutt as well as other Indian poets have failed in a greater or less measure to enter into the innermost heaven of thought and feeling in the great stories of India's past. Mere poetic endowment or sense of beauty is but the lesser half of the full inner equipment required to do this work. A poet like Kalidasa, who knew from the inside these stories and the ideals embodied in them and who at the same time had a perfect sense of beauty, a perfect ear for melody, and a perfect artistic vigilance and self-restraint, is able to appeal more powerfully to us than many modern Indian poets who have merely the poetic endowment and nothing more.

It is not my object here to elaborate this aspect but all of us deeply yearn for the coming of the master-singer who will not stand outside the current of our national life to any extent and in whom we can see the perfect blossoming of the forces that have been the real makers of such life. In the poem *Jogadhya Uma* we find this apologetic conclusion:

"Absurd may be the tale I tell,
Ill-suited to the marching times,
I loved the lips from which it fell,
So let it stand among my rhymes."

(JOGADHYA UMA).

In the poem on *The Royal Ascetic*, which deals with the pathetic story of Bharata's life, so full of the subtlest spiritual charm, we see that the poetess has missed the sweetness of the story as narrated in the greatest of India's devotional epics and moralises in a manner that robs the story of all its beauty and its irresistible appeal to the soul of man. The poem runs :

"Thus far the pious chronicle, writ of old
By Brahman sage ; but we, who happier live
Under the holiest dispensation, know
That God is Love, and not to be adored

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By a devotion born of stoic pride,
Or with ascetic rites, or penance hard,
But with a love, in character akin
To His unselfish, all-including love.
And therefore little can we sympathise
With what the Brahmin sage would fain imply
As the concluding moral of his tale,
That for the hermit-king it was a sin
To love his nursling. What ! a sin to love !
A sin to pity ! Rather should we deem,
Whatever Brahmans wise, or monks may hold,
That he had sinned in *casting off* all love,
By his retirement to the forest-shades ;
For that was to abandon duties high,
And, like a recreant soldier, leave the post
Where God had placed him as a sentinel."

(THE ROYAL ASCETIC.)

I do not think it appropriate to make this an occasion for expatiating on the lofty Hindu ideals of love of God and renunciation of the world, but it certainly sounds strange to hear a great bhaktha and sanyasi described as a recreant soldier.

Again, we must not forget that the singers who express themselves in the vernaculars, like Sir Rabindranath Tagore, have a firmer place in the firmament of fame than those who write in the English tongue. The real reason why so many poets choose the English language as the medium of self-expression is contained in the following sentence that occurs in Mr. Gosse's memoir. " But she was born to write, and despairing of an audience in her own language, she began to adopt ours as a medium for her thought." Alas, that this should be so ! Our denationalising system of education, the disgraceful apathy of our so-called educated men in respect of the encouragement of Sanskrit and the vernaculars, the universal lack of cultivated taste and the disgusting adoration of public servants, lawyers, and political orators of all degrees of bumptiousness, have been responsible for this state of things. At the same time we must recognise and realise that English poetry by Indians has a real and great place in life and is needed to voice some of our new born aspirations and to interpret the East to the West. It has a real and abiding place in our national life and is sure to be a great factor in the making of the greater and happier India of the future.

Even from this point of view, we cannot but point out that Toru Dutt did not attain a perfect mastery over the varied and melodious rhythms of English verse and a perfect sense of the beauties of the English language. The line

'But this thought brought with it no fear'

is hardly beautiful or melodious. Mr. Gosse says: "As to the merely technical character of these poems, it may be suggested that in spite of much in them that is rough and inchoate, they show that Toru was advancing in her mastery of English verse.....For it must frankly be confessed that in the brief May-day of her existence she had not time to master our language as Blanco White did, or as Chamisso mastered German. To the end of here days, fluent and graceful as she was, she was not entirely conversant with English, especially with the colloquial turns of modern speech. Often a very fine thought is spoilt by the queer turn of expression which she has innocently given to it."

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After all that the *advocatus diaboli* can say in regard to the limitations of Toru Dutt's art, what a joy it is to turn to the numerous high qualities of her poetic achievement! Her poetry is remarkable for its simplicity, its directness, its sincerity, and its natural magic. There is an artless bird-like quality in her outpourings and it is her simplicity of emotional appeal and natural melody that charm and delight our imaginations and our hearts. Let us take as an example the very first stanza in her *Ancient Ballads of Hindustan* :—

"Savitri was the only child
Of Madra's wise and mighty king.
Stern warriors, when they saw her, smiled,
As mountains smile to see the spring.
Fair as a lotus when the moon
Kisses its opening petals red,
After sweet showers in sultry June!
With happier heart, and lighter tread,
Chance strangers, having met her, past,
And often would they turn the head
A lingering second look to cast,
And bless the vision ere it fled."

(SAVITRI).

With a few words the poet brings before our mind's eye a vision of wonderful beauty of body and soul. Savitri's very sight would bring anew light into the faces and hearts of the men who are in the shelterless open places of life and are overwhelmed by the snows of worldly desires in the bleak winter of ambition. The lotus of her beauty shone out from the dark waters around and the mire below and was full of maidenly charm, shrinking from the daylight glare of worldliness, rejoicing in the sweet showers of "gentle thoughts and calm desires;" and loved and caressed by the full moon of purity. She was a vision of beauty and holiness that enraptured and uplifted the souls of men who felt that the very sight of her was a blessing and benediction by God. Ah! how much is conveyed by the few simple and beautiful words contained in this stanza! It is such suggestiveness and beauty that form the enchantment of true poetry.

Toru Dutt's descriptions of Indian life are full of truth and charm. In the description of Savitri the girl, we find painted for us in perfect words the spiritual light that shines on the pure and sweet faces of Hindu girls—a light that is the result of generations and centuries of modest and refined and pure and self-sacrificing life.

What was her own peculair charm?
The soft black eyes, the raven hair,
The curving neck, the rounded arm,
All these are common everywhere.
Her charm was this—upon her face,
Childlike and innocent and fair,
No man with thought impure or base
Could ever look; the glory there,
The sweet simplicity and grace,
Abashed the boldest, but the good,

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God's purity there loved to trace,
Mirrored in dawning womanhood.

(SAVITRI.)

The description

"When glided like a music-strain
Savitri's presence through the room"

(SAVITRI.)

makes us realise vividly the unobtrusive charm of Indian women which is such a sweet balm to the weary hearts of men. It reminds us of the beautiful line in Longfellow's Evangeline,

"And when she passed it was like the ceasing of
exquisite music."

Toru Dutt's description of Indian womanhood is equally beautiful.

"Not weak she seemed, nor delicate,
Strong was each limb of flexile grace,
And full the bust ; the mien elate,
Like hers, the goddess of the chase
On Lutmoshill,—and oh, the face
Framed in its cloud of floating hair,
No painter's hand might hope to trace
The beauty and the glory there !"

(JOGADHYA UMA.)

The following lines describing the ever-old ever-new "bridals chaste and calm" which from the time of the marriages of Shiva and Parvati and Rama and Sita down to this day shine in Indian literature, have a fascination born of tranquite grace and perfect faithfulness.

"And now with rice and gold, all bless
The bride and bridegroom,—and they go
Happy in other's happiness,
Each to her home, beneath the glow
Of the late risen moon that lines
With silver all the ghost-like trees,
Sals, tamarisks, and South-Sea pines,
And palms whose plumes wave in the breeze."

(SAVITRI.)

Toru Dutt's poems abound also in perfect gems of Indian sentiments about life. She describes the steadfast love of woman thus :—

" Her heart-rose opened had at last—
Opened no flower can ever shut."

(SAVITRI.)

" She went away,
Leaving her virgin heart behind,
And richer for the loss. A ray,
Shot down from heaven, appeared to tinge
All objects with supernal light,
The thatches had a rainbow fringe,
The cornfields looked more green and bright."

(SAVITRI.)

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The bright joys of wedded lives are described in these fine verses.

"The hours past peacefully along
And rippling bright day followed day."
(SAVITRI.)

Toru Dutt then shows us that in our life in this world we must follow the Right in scorn of consequence.

"Unequal seems to be a strife
Between Humanity and Fate ;
None have on earth what they desire ;
Death comes to all or soon or late ;
And peace is but a wandering fire ;
Expediency leads wild astray ;
The Right must be our guiding star."
(SAVITRI.)

We must have also an abiding faith in the grace of God and in "good being the final goal of ill."

"Though cloud on cloud loom ominous,
In gentle rain they may distil."

Steadfastness and loyalty of purpose are of the essence of a proper life.

"By strained sense, by constant prayer,
By steadfastness of heart and will,
By courage to confront and dare,
All obstacles he conquered still ;
A conscience clear,—a ready hand,
Joined to a meek humility,
Success must everywhere command,
How could he fail who had all three ?"
(BUTTOO.)

Every man must seek the company of the wise and the good for *satsanga* alone can bring us the sweetest fruits of life.

"Of all the pleasures given on earth
The company of the good is best,
For weariness has never birth
In such a commerce sweet and blest ;
The sun runs on its wonted course,
The earth its plenteous treasure yields,
All for their sake, and by the force
Their united prayer yields."
(SAVITRI.)

Contentment and the doing of duty for duty's sake are the real joys of the soul.

"That man is truly wise
Who is content with what he has, and seeks
Nothing beyond, but in whatever sphere,
Lowly or great, God placed him, works in faith."
(DHRUVA.)

Love and service of the people should be the sole aim and thought of all.

"Not in seclusion, not apart from all,
Not in a place elected for its peace,
But in the heat and bustle of the world
Mid sorrow, sickness, suffering and sin,

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Must he still labour with a loving soul
Who strives to enter through the narrow gate."

(THE ROYAL ASCETIC.)

Finally every one should realise the sovereignty of the people and the truth of the golden maxims *Salus populi suprema lex* and *vox populi vox dei.* Toru Dutt sings :

"Tyrants of every age and clime
Remember this,—that awful shape
Shall startle you when comes the time,
And send its voice from cape to cape.
As human peoples suffer pain,
But oh, the lion strength is theirs,
Woe to the king when galls the chain !
Woe, woe, their fury when he dares."

(PRAHLAD.)

A special tribute of praise should be offered to Toru Dutt's beautiful nature-poetry—so direct, so full of accurate perception, and so full of suggestive charm. The following is a fine description of a wood :—

"Oh, lovely are the woods at dawn,
And lovely in the sultry noon,
But loveliest when, the sun withdrawn,
The twilight and a crescent moon
Change all asperities of shape,
And tone all colours softly down
With a blue veil of silvered crape !
Lo ! By that hill which palm-trees crown,
Down the deep glade with perfume rife
From buds that to the dews expand,
The husband and the faithful wife
Pass to dense jungle—hand in hand."

(SAVITRI.)

The following lines recall to our minds a familiar vision whose beauty is ever with us if we care to see.

"The roadside trees still dripped with dew,
And hung their blossoms like a show."

(JOGADHYA UMA.)

The lines below describe the wonders of Indian vegetation in detail.

"What glorious trees ! The sombre saul
On which the eye delights to rest,
The betel-nut,—a pillar tall,
With feathery branches for a crest,
The light-leaved tamarind spreading wide,
The pale faint-scented bitter neem,
The seemul, gorgeous as a bride !
With flowers that have the ruby's gleam.
The Indian fig's pavilion tent
In which whole armies might repose,
With here and there a little rent,
The sunset's beauty to disclose,

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The bamboo boughs that sway and swing
'Neath bulbuls as the south wind blows,
The mangoe-tope, a close dark ring,
Home of the rook and clamorous crows!
The champak, bok, and South Sea pine,
The nagessur with pendant flowers
Like ear-rings,—and the forest vine
That clinging over all, embowers
The sirish famed in Sanscrit song,
Which rural maidens love to wear,
The peepul giant-like and strong,
The bramble with its matted hair,
All these, and thousands, thousands more,
With helmet red, or golden crown,
Or green tiara, rose before
The youth in evening's shadows brown.
He passed into the forest,—there
New sights of wonder met his view.
A waving Pampas green and fair
All glistening with the evening dew.
How vivid was the breast-high grass!
Here waved in patches forest corn,—
Here intervened a deep morass,—
Here arid spots of verdure shorn
Lay open,—rock or barren sand,—
And here again the trees arose
Thick clustering,—a glorious band
Their tops still bright with sunset glows."

(BUTTOO.)

The beauty and harmony of these verses are of an exceptionally high order and unmatched elsewhere in English poetry by Indian poets. The verses challenge comparison with great passages of nature-poetry in English literature. The following cameos of description may also be quoted here:—

"Osiers and willows on the edge
And purple buds and red,
Leant down,—and 'mid the pale green sedge
The lotus raised its head."

(SINDHU.)

"As darkness settled like a pall
The eye would pierce in vain,
The fireflies gemmed the bushes all,
Like fiery drops of rain."

(SINDHU.)

I shall conclude this portion of the sketch with these two exquisite sonnets.

"A sea of foliage girds our garden round,
But not a sea of dull unvaried green,
Sharp contrasts of all colours here are seen;
The light-green graceful tamarinds abound
Amid the mango clumps of denser foliage round,
And palms arise like pillars grey between,

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And o'er the quiet pools the seemuls lean
Red,—red, and startling like a trumpet's sound.
But nothing can be lovelier than the ranges
Of bamboos to the eastward, when the moon
Looks through their gaps, and the white lotus changes
Into a cup of silver. One might swoon
Drunken with beauty then, or gaze and gaze,
On a primeval Eden, in amaze."

" Love came to Flora asking for a flower
That would of flowers be undisputed Queen,
The lily and the rose, long, long had been
Rivals for that high honour. Bards of power
Had sung their claims. 'The rose can never tower
Like the pale lily with her Juno mien'—
'But is the lily lovelier ?' Thus between
Flower factions rang the strife in Psyche's bower.
'Give me a flower delicious as the rose
And stately as the lily in her pride'—
'But of what colour ?'—'Rose-red,' Love first chose,
Then prayed,—'No, lily white, or, both provide,'
And Flora gave the lotus, 'rose-red' dyed,
And 'lily-white,' the queenliest flower that blows.'

Though Toru Dutt might not have had any deep faith in Hindu religious doctrines or traditions, yet her ancestry and early training enabled her to enter into their spirit. God Yama is thus described:

" As still Savitri sat beside
Her husband dying, dying fast,
She saw a stranger slowly glide
Beneath the bows that shrunk aghast.
Upon his head he wore a crown
That shimmered in the doubtful light ;
His vestment scarlet reached low down,
His waist, a golden girdle dight.
His skin was dark as bronze ; his face
Irradiate, and yet severe ;
His eyes had much of love and grace,
But glowed so bright, they filled with fear.
A string was in the stranger's hand
Noosed at its end."

(SAVITRI.)

The following stanza describes Fate very well :—

"With unseen bands Fate draws us on
Unto the place appointed us ;
We feel no outward force—anon
We go to marriage or to death
At a determined time and place ;
We are her play things ; with her breath
She blows us where she lists in space."

(SAVITRI.)

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The doctrine of Karma is thus stated in the same fine poem :—

"I know in such a world as this
No one can gain his heart's desire,
Or pass the years in perfect bliss;
Like gold we must be tried by fire;
And each shall suffer as he acts
And thinks,—his own sad burden bear!
No friends can help,—his sins are facts
That nothing can annul or square
And he must bear their consequence."

(SAVITRI.)

The following lines describe Time's revenges very well.

"They read the Veds, they prayed and mused,
Full well they knew that Time would bring
For favours scorned, and gifts misused,
Undreamt of changes on his wing.
Time changes deserts bare to meads,
And fertile meads to deserts bare,
Cities to pools, and pools with reeds
To towns and cities large and fair;
Time changes purple into rags,
And rags to purple. Chime by Chime,
Whether it flies, or runs, or drags—
The wise wait patiently on time."

(PRAHLAD.)

Man's duty is to be virtuous and to fulfil the commandments of God and await His grace.

"Collect a large sum of the virtues, thence
A goodly harvest must to thee arise.
Be meek, devout, and friendly, full of love,
Intent to do good to the human race.
And to all creatures sentient made of God;
And oh, be humble, for on modest worth
Descends prosperity, even as water flows
Down to low grounds."

(DHRUVA.)

By this means alone can we rise to the knowledge and love of God.

"This is true knowledge which can make
Us mortals saintlike, holy, pure,
The strange thirst of the spirit slake
And strengthen suffering to endure.
That is true knowledge which can change
Our very natures with its glow;
The sciences whate'er their range
Feed but the flesh, and make a show."

(PRAHLAD.)

I shall quote here a perfect stanza full of trust and love in the wisdom and grace of God.

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"Hath He a shape, or hath He none ?
I know not this, nor care to know,
Dwelling in light, to which the sun
Is darkness,—He sees all below,
Himself unseen ! In Him I trust,
He can protect me if He will,
And if this body turn to dust,
He can new life again instil."

(PRAHLAD.)

I have dealt above with many of the beauties contained in the famous group of poems—*Savitri*, *Lakshman*, *Jogadhya Uma*, *The Royal Ascetic*, *Dhruva*, *Buttoo*, *Sindhu*, *Prahlad*—which interpret the beautiful stories of India's glorious past. They deal with some of the most beautiful and pathetic situations in the great literatures of India. In Indian literature there are innumerable stories which convey to us the quintessence of wisdom and brace us to meet the trials of life and fit us to enter the Kingdom of God. India was in her great past the supreme story-teller of the world and even to-day the tradition of *kathas* preserves some of our great artistic powers and endowments in this sphere of self-expression. If only some great revealer of the human heart dowered with the divine gift of song takes up India's wonderful stories and reveals India's soul to the world in song and story, what an uplift to India and blessing to the world would be the fruit of such work and how much nearer will be the reign of love and wisdom and peace and joy on earth ! ! !

Though I have quoted freely and fully already from Toru Dutt's Indian ballads, I desire to quote here the following beautiful stanza describing Savitri returning with her husband having vanquished Death by Love.

"In one fair hand the saw she took,
The other with a charming grace
She twined around him, and her look
She turned up towards his face.
Thus aiding him she felt anew
His bosom beat against her own—
More firm his step, more clear his view
More self-possessed his words and tone
Became, as swift the minutes past,
And now the pathway he discerns,
And' neath the trees they hurry fast,
For Hope's fair light before them burns."

(SAVITRI.)

The following fine description of her beautiful secluded home occurs in the poem '*Sita.*'

"A dense, dense forest, where no sunbeam pries,
And in its centre a cleared spot.—There bloom
Gigantic flowers on creepers that embrace
Tall trees ; there, in a quiet lucid lake
The white swans glide ; there 'whirring from the brake'
The peacock springs ; there, herds of wild deer race ;
There, patches gleam with yellow waving grain ;
There oblong pools from out Gunga's mighty flight,
There dwells in peace the poet-anchorite."

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Toru Dutt had a fine lyrical gift also and excelled not only in ballad themes but in "short swallow-flights of song." The following poem describes how a beautiful lady presented some roses out of love.

"Sweet were the roses,—sweet and full,
And large as lotus flowers
That in our own wide tanks we cull
To deck our Indian bowers.
But sweeter was the love that gave
Those flowers to one unknown,
Think that who came to save
The gift a debt will own.
The lady's name I do not know,
Her face no more may see,
But yet, oh yet, I love her so !
Blest, happy, may she be !
Her memory will not depart,
Though grief my years should shade,
Still bloom her roses in my heart !
And they shall never fade !"

The lyric poem entitled *France* is in a different and passionate strain. It was written in 1870.

Not dead,—oh no,—she cannot die !
Only a swoon from loss of blood !
Levite England passes her by,
Help, Samaritan ! None is nigh ;
Who shall stanch me this sanguine flood !
Range the brown hair, it blinds her eye,
Dash cold water over her face !
Drowned in her blood, she makes no sign,
Give her a draught of generous wine.
None heed, none hear, to do this grace.
Head of the human column, thus
Ever in swoon wilt thou remain ?
Thought, Freedom, Truth, quenched ominous,
Whence then shall Hope arise for us,
Plunged in the darkness all again ?
No she stirs !—There's a fire in her glance,
Ware, oh ware of that broken sword !
What, dare ye for an hour's mischance,
Gather around her, jeering France,
Attila's own exultant horde ?
Lo, she stands up,—stands up e'en now,
Strong once more for the battle-fray
Gleams bright the star, that from her brow
Lightens the world. Bow, nations, bow,
Let her again lead on the way !"

The following is the beautiful lyric about which Mr. Gosse says: "But when at last I took it out of my pocket, what was my surprise and almost rapture to open at such verse as this."

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"Still barred thy doors! The far east glows,
The morning wind blows fresh and free.
Should not the hour that wakes the rose
Awaken also thee!
All look for thee, Love, Light, and Song,
Light, in the sky deep red above,
Song, in the lark of pinions strong,
And in my heart, true Love.
Apart we miss our nature's goal,
Why strive to cheat our destinies?
Was not my love made for thy soul?
Thy beauty for mine eyes?
No longer sleep,
Oh, listen now!
I wait and weep,
But where art thou?"

Such was the fragrance of "this fragile blossom of song"—Miss Toru Dutt. Though we mourn the cruel fate that cut short the life of one whose infancy was nurtured "by solemn vision and bright silver dream" and whose muse was of wonderful beauty and sweetness, we echo the last line of her *Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*.

"May Love defend thee from Oblivion's curse"

and hope that a study of her poetry will become a widespread blessing in our land and produce a continuous succession of great poets who will reveal the soul of India to the world.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

The Parsis in India. English Edition (from the French of Mlle. D. Menant).

By M. M. MURZABAN, Bar-at-Law, 2 vols. Illustrated. ("Gulistan," Fort, Bombay) 1917-8.

IN 1902 there appeared in London "for private circulation" a slim volume—now lying before us—which was a translation in English of a French book published in 1897, called *Les Parsis* and which was the work of Mlle. Delphine Menant, a daughter of M. Joachim Menant, *Membre de l'Institut* and a distinguished scholar. Though a small treatise, it deservedly took its place as one of the standard works on the Parsis and one can not be sufficiently grateful to Mr. M. M. Murzaban for now having undertaken a very much enlarged and copiously illustrated edition of the book—enlarged by means of exhaustive supplementary annotations, bringing the text fully up-to-date. The result is before us in two large, handsome volumes, which give us a complete picture of the lights and shadows of Parsi life in various fields of activities. Truth to say, there is so much of Mr. Murzaban in the book as it now appears, that the original matter of the French authoress is totally swamped

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and it is open to doubt whether the Indian annotator and interpreter of the French work would not have been well-advised in undertaking himself a new, systematic work on the subject. The late Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee Karaka's *History of the Parsis* (published in London in its enlarged edition in two volumes, in 1884) is now out of date and a new comprehensive work on the Parsis, thoroughly up-to-date, is badly needed. If any one is capable of removing the want, it is Mr. Murzaban, who by reason of his knowledge and enthusiasm is pre-eminently fitted to undertake such a task. Unfortunately he has preferred to play the rôle of an annotator and compiler rather than an author, and while this may be regretted, it has enabled him to materially enhance the value of Mlle. Menant's original work. The work now is sufficiently exhaustive to satisfy the requirements of seekers after information on almost all matters connected with the history, or present condition of the Parsis—although, being a composite work and divided between the original text and the copious annotations, it does not lend itself to easy reading. With this reservation, however, credit must be given for the extraordinary pains and the boundless enthusiasm which Mr. Murzaban has brought to bear upon his labour of love. We feel sure that the result of his labour and researches will redound to the credit of Indian scholarship and the book will hold its own for a long time to come as the most critical and exhaustive work on the Parsis.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do justice to the contents of these two volumes. In the first volume we find treated the very fascinating subject of the Parsi exodus from Persia to India and the causes leading thereto, followed by sketches of the Zoroastrians in Persia. We have then a very interesting account of the Parsi population in India. The second volume deals with Parsi customs, usages and fêtes. About the only criticism that strikes us is the rather perfunctory treatment of the subject of the attitude of the Parsis towards Indian Nationalism and public affairs. It is barely touched upon—though it should in our opinion have been dealt with at adequate length. Indian Nationalism owes a great deal to Parsi leaders, of whom Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, and Dinshaw Wacha are the best known. If Home Rule and Self-Determination to-day are the watchwords of Indian Nationalism, it is due to the enunciation of the doctrine of Swaraj in the

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presidential address at the 1906 session of the Indian National Congress by our late, lamented, patriarchal leader, Dadabhai Naoroji. Take again the question of Indian Nationalism and of Indian Nationality and it would be difficult to find on these subjects clearer statements of principles than those laid down by the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress of 1890 and in his other speeches. One naturally expects references to these in the section dealing with the question of the nationality of the Parsis and is disappointed at these important omissions. For the rest, the book is a storehouse of interesting and accurate information and though, cast in its present shape and form, it may not suit either the purposes of the scholar or the layman, yet none will rise from its perusal without a quickened sense of appreciation of the great and manifold services rendered to India by her Parsi sons. A notable feature of the book is the wealth of illustrations contained in it. These numerous portraits add materially not only to the usefulness and the value but to the charm of perusing the book Altogether Mr. Murzaban deserves well of the country for the production of this monumental work and we shall await the results of his further researches in the same field with a keenly sympathetic interest.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Sociological Literature.

Bodies Politic and their Governments. By Basil Edward Hammond (University Press, Cambridge) 1916.

Community : A Sociological Study. By R. M. Maciver, D. Phil. (Macmillan & Co., Ldt., London) 1917.

Comparative Free Government. By Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.) 1916.

Two Sociological Series :—(A) The "New Commonwealth Books" series :—*The World of States.* By C. Delisle Burns, M. A.; *Freedom.* By Gilbert Cannan ; *The State and the Child.* By W. Clarke Hall; (Headley Bros., Ltd. Kingsway House, Kingsway, London, W. C.) 1917-8. (B) "The Making of the Future," series. *The Coming Polity.* By Victor Branford, M. A., and Patrick Geddes; *Ideas at War.* By Patrick Geddes and Gilbert Slater, D. Sc. (Williams and Norgate. 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C.) 1917-8.

Nationalism and Internationalism. By Ramsay Muir (Constable & Co., Ldt., London) 1917.

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National Economy—An Outline of Public Administration. By Henry Higgs (Macmillan & Co., Ldt., London) 1917.

SOME years back Professor Hammond published an instructive text-book called *Outlines of Comparative Politics.* This he has now supplemented by his *Bodies Politic and their Government*, which may be taken to supersede the earlier work. At a time like the present when political reconstruction is a subject of vital interest both in Europe and Asia, Professor Hammond's book is likely to prove highly useful, for though it does not deal with current politics, it deals with the growth and evolution of political principles, without a clear grasp of which the present problems can not be fully appreciated and solved. By far the larger portion of Mr. Hammond's discussion is devoted to a description of ancient and mediæval governments : Greek and Roman political institutions take up, in fact, more than half his pages. Useful summaries are given from time to time, and these help greatly to clear the course of the narrative. The author also arranges his bodies politic in genealogical tables which illustrate, as it were, the pedigree of each. The later chapters endeavor to supply the data for conclusions on the relationship and descent of political institutions in modern states. Europe gets the bulk of the author's attention, but the Government of the United States receives twenty pages. The note struck by the author is thus of classification : the classification of communities or welded groups of communities as differentiated from States, the author contending that the State is a legal and almost abstract conception, while the body politic lends itself to concrete presentation in its capacity for acting, as if it were a single person. Having chosen this basis, the writer gives a succession of historical and political sketches of the various nations at different periods. His classification includes tribes, simple communities, simple urban bodies politic (" city states "), composite urban bodies politic, unitary nations, and heterogeneous empires, and is conveniently set forth in diagram at the close of his discussion of each epoch of history. Although at places the statements of the author are characterized by inaccuracy, which should be carefully removed in a second edition, nevertheless Professor Hammond's *Bodies Politic and their Governments* shows much vigorous original thought and is a serious contribution to political or rather sociological literature. It might fitly be included as a text-book in the political science curriculum of the Indian universities.

There are various fairly good American text-books of Sociology, but scarcely any which presents the data from the more general and less American point of view. Such a one is now available in Dr. R. M. Maciver's work called *Community: A Sociological Study*, in which the author has successfully attempted to set out accurately and fairly comprehensively the salient features of the nature and fundamental laws of social life

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and its development as experienced and understood in the West. It is intended to be an introductory text-book of the subject and the author has done well to eschew all details not suited to a work of this character. After explaining the meaning of social fact and social law, Dr. Maciver deals with community and association and the place of Sociology among the sciences. Book II is devoted to "an analysis of community" in which are analysed false perspectives of community, elements of community and its structure and the general problems connected with social institutions. Book III which is the concluding portion is devoted to the discussion of the primary laws of the development of community, in which are discussed the meaning of communal development, the supposed law of communal mortality, the fundamental law of communal development, the co-ordination of community, the unity of individual life, the correlation of socialisation and communal economy, and the correlation of socialisation and control of environment. It would be clear from this summary of the contents of the volume that its scope is co-extensive with the whole range of Sociology, in the widest acceptation of the term. Next to comprehensiveness the chief merits of the book are lucidity and accuracy. The author has mastered his subject and possesses the rare faculty of presenting his knowledge in a way so as to enchain the attention of the reader. Altogether Dr. Maciver's *Community: A Sociological Study* is an excellent Introduction to a very important subject and should appeal to all students of Sociology. Curiously we do not find in the index any reference to India, which is rather surprising. One would have thought that India would prove to be a storehouse for sociological data and that no work on the subject can be said to be complete or exhaustive unless it took cognizance of Indian sociological conditions—past and present. Few western sociologists have yet made themselves masters of or even partially acquainted with the data of Indian Sociology and its great value in a scentific study of the subject. Barring the limitation that it ignores almost all reference to Indian sociological facts, Dr. Maciver's text-book can be safely recommended as a very useful compendium of Sociology.

We have already noticed in terms of commendation the volumes published in the American series called "Social Science Text-Books"—two extraordinarily good works in which, in particular, are *Outlines of Economics* by Dr. Richard T. Ely—as finally revised by the author in collaboration with some leading American economists—and *Outlines of Sociology* by Drs. Blackmar and Gillin, two noted American sociologists. Both these volumes, and some others of the series, have been reviewed by us and a notable addition is now made by Professors Macy and Gannaway's *Comparative Free Government*. The object of the book is to present a conspectus of the principles obtaining in the democratically-governed countries of Europe and America so as to assist the student of Political

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Science in the subject of the comparative study of representative, as opposed to all other forms of government. The importance of the subject in view of the advent of a world-movement towards democracy can hardly be doubted. The authors have succeeded in presenting a lucid sketch of the various processes and institutions by which free government is being attained. As in the authors' opinion—a not perhaps unjust one—the United States hold the first place in free and responsible government, because it was the first great State founded upon the theory of popular control and because of its influence—direct and indirect—upon many other States, the greatest prominence is given to a fairly detailed account of the working of the constitution of that country. England—or rather Great Britain—is assigned the next place in importance and these two countries are taken as the principal types of free government —popularly known as the presidential and the cabinet. The third place is assigned to France as French democracy involves a governmental organization that differs fundamentally from those of America and Great Britain. Amongst other countries the constitution of Switzerland is of especial interest because it furnishes a type which while fully democratic is neither cabinet nor presidential. The chapters devoted to Germany and the smaller States of Europe and America are no less interesting. Two very useful features of the book are a comprehensive bibliography of the subject and a digest of some leading cases in American constitutional law. Judged as a whole and making allowance for the limitations inseparable from a text-book, it can be safely said that within the covers of a single, handy volume there was not available to the student such a compact and clearly-written account of the governments of the countries enjoying in a large or small measure responsible Government as has now been furnished in Professors Macey and Gannaway's *Comparative Free Government*. It is the best of its class and kind for even an American text-book—which is saying a great deal.

Of the various series of books which the war called forth two of the most important are "The Making of the Future," edited by Professors Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford, and "The New Commonwealth Books" edited by Professor E. Delisle Burns, M. A. The *raison d'etre* of both the series is to be found in the events of the present time which have started much serious enquiry into the validity of our accepted institutions and our traditional habits of thought. Our conceptions of the *STATE*, of *INDUSTRY*, of *WOMAN* and of many other things have been directly challenged ; and it is commonly acknowledged that a frank and thorough-going examination of our current postulates—political, religious, economic and social—is urgently called for. The "New Commonwealth Books" series is intended to be a contribution to the discussion of the problems thus raised. The volumes in the series cover the main subject relative to the function of the State. Those already

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planned treat of the State in its relation to other States, to religion, to industry, to society, to woman, to the individual, to art, education and crime. The volumes of especial interest to readers in this country are those mentioned above. The editor, Professor Burns, in his *The World of States*, deals with the theory of the State, politics and foreign policy, nationality, economics, defence, co-operation between States, international conferences and leagues and world organization. Mr. Clarke Hall in his *State and the Child* deals with the delinquent child, children's court, reformatory and industrial schools, probation, the illegitimate child and social experiments ; while Mr. Cannan in his *Freedom* discusses the need of freedom in government, capital and labour, the man in the street, machinery, love of country, freedom of women, children and the ideal. Each of the volumes is exceedingly well-written and is a suggestive contribution to the literature of reconstruction in particular and sociological literature in general. The series, as a whole, is a highly useful one and deserves wide circulation.

The especial aim of "The Making of the Future" series is to gather together the existing elements of reconstructive doctrine and systematise and present them as a body of truth growing towards unity and already fruitful in outlook and application. In their *Ideas at War* the authors write on the study of war and peace, the modern transition, the mechanical, the imperial and the financial ages and their spiritual aspects, the materials of reconstruction, and the methods of bringing it about especially in arts and crafts ; while in *The Coming Polity* we are presented dissertations on history and politics, interpreters and prophets, the rural problems, the roots of democracy, the regional drama, town and country, and state and city. Each of the two volumes covers an extensive ground on the subjects it deals with and the presentation of the argument is thought-provoking in the extreme. Though these two series appeal naturally to people in the United Kingdom since they deal with conditions of life in the group of countries constituting the British State, nevertheless they have so much to tell us about the new developments in human life all over the world, that they should appeal to Indian readers.

Professor Ramsay Muir, of the Manchester University, is well-known in India and of his works none is likely to appeal more to the English-knowing Indian than *Nationalism and Inter-nationalism*, the subtitle of which is "The Culmination of Modern History." The subjects of nationhood and nationality are discussed in almost all works on Political Science, but Professor Ramsay Muir brings to his analysis of it the rich experience gathered during the war just brought to a close. At a time when India is pulsating with the impulses of a higher political life, Professor Ramsay's Muir's book ought to interest a very large circle of readers. His views are summed up as follows :—"Nationality is an elusive idea, difficult to define. It can not be tested or analysed.....

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Its essence is a sentiment and...a nation is a nation because its members passionately and unanimously believe it to be so.....Nationality, since it is not solely or even mainly based on racial homogeneity, can be nursed into existence, even where most of the elements of unity are to begin with lacking. But it is a tender plant; and any attempt to force its growth with undue speed must lead to disaster." This is, to our mind, a very sound and accurate description of the elements and spirit of nationality and should encourage Indians to persevere in attaining nationhood. Put shortly, a people—howsoever diversified in race, creed or language—constitute a nation so long as they believe and act upon their belief that their interests are absolutely identical. This view of the matter is clearly brought out in Professor Ramsay Muir's book which is an excellent treatise on the subject and which we have much pleasure in commending to our readers.

Mr. Henry Higgs, C. B., is one of the best-known expounders of Economics. His *Financial System of the United Kingdom* and *The Physiocrats* are well-known treatises on economic subjects. In 1916 he was asked to deliver a course of lectures at the University College, London, on the Newmarch foundation for Economics, Statistics and Finance. The six lectures delivered by him are now published as *National Economy: An Outline of Public Administration*. The expression "National Economy" is synonymous in Northern Europe with Political Economy or what we now call Economics. The book before us does not profess to be an exhaustive treatise on Economics. In fact as the author puts it in the Preface:—"These lectures are rather a tract than a treatise." But although more or less fragmentary and neither so grave nor serious as befitting the study of the dismal science, they are immensely suggestive and stimulating and form a very suitable Introduction to the subject. The subjects dealt with are national economy and formal finance, economical organization and business management, control of expenditure, revenue and administration, financial policy and the budget and public debt and hant finance. The exposition of the subject is accurate and interesting and the work as a whole would be found very instructive.

Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

WE offer a most cordial welcome to the second edition, in two volumes, of Professor Panchanandas Mukherji's *Indian Constitutional Documents* (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta). We noticed the first edition in terms of the highest appreciation and the one under consideration is a very great improvement on the earlier work. Both the volumes constitute a material contribution to the study of the Indian Constitution, and, as such, will be of great use at a time when far-reaching constitutional questions are being discussed. It is a book of the highest utility to legislative councillors, publicists and students of Indian administration and con-

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stitutional history, since it furnishes, in the first volume, the texts of the various Proclamations, Acts, Resolutions and other documents which are landmarks in India's march towards the goal of constitutional government, besides a comprehensive historical Introduction covering 85 pages, giving excellent summaries. The second volume contains the Government of India Act, 1915, with amendments up to date and references to older statutes, with an introductory account of the present working constitution of British India, together with a preliminary study of English political institutions and the system of government in the Dominions, both of which have a bearing on the study of the Indian Constitution. The book thus successfully attempts to present a historical and comparative—and as such scientific—study of the Indian Constitution. To the student of the subject it is truly a unique book of great value, both for purposes of reference and study. The only suggestion we have to offer is that in the next edition the two volumes should be of equal number of pages, which would conduce to greater facilitity for reference.

Some Unpublished and Later Speeches and Writings of the Hon'ble Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, edited by Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy (Alice Buildings, Fort, Bombay) is a very valuable contribution to Indian political literature and the editor is entitled to the thanks of the Indian public. The *Speeches and Writings* of Sir Pherozeshah, edited by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in 1905, do not contain all that the admirers of that one of the greatest of Indian publicists would like to possess and there can be no two opinions that the country cannot afford to let die the powerful utterances of that great champion of India's interest. The idea of publishing, therefore, the supplementary volume under consideration was a happy one and we heartily congratulate Mr. Jeejeebhoy on the successful completion of his task. The interest and usefulness of the work are increased by the very instructive Introduction, which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar contributes. The book, which is exceedingly well got-up, ought to enjoy a very large circulation in this country.

The great popularity of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya amongst Indian leaders of to-day is evidenced by an excellent edition of his *Speeches and Writings*, published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras. The work is a comprehensive and up-to-date collection comprising among others his two Congress presidential addresses, his memorandum on the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, his minute on the Report of the Industrial Commission and a careful selection of speeches on other subjects delivered on various occasions. A special feature is the inclusion of the Hon'ble Pandit's select speeches in the Imperial Legislative Council. There is besides a lengthy biographical account of the Pandit's life and career accompanied by a photograph. The book is handsomely bound in cloth.

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Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras, have brought out a second and up-to-date edition of their collection of Mr. Gandhi's *Speeches and Writings*. The publishers have improved upon the first edition considerably by the addition of many fresh and rare papers. Other features of this book are an Introduction from the pen of Mr. C. F. Andrews, a biographical sketch of Mr. Gandhi together with a clear and succinct account of the great South African struggle by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, "A word of tribute" by Mr. G. A. Natesan, and numerous portraits and cartoons illustrative of different phases of the struggle, besides appreciations of Mr. Gandhi's life and character by Count Tolstoy, Sir Gilbert Murray, Gokhale and others. This edition is cloth bound and indexed.

Though it does not profess to be a guide-book to the metropolis of Egypt, nevertheless Mrs. R. L. Devonshire's *Rambles in Cairo* (The Shpinx Printing Works, Cairo, Egypt) is bound to be most interesting and helpful to residents in and travellers to that famous city. Contributed originally in the form of letters to a newspaper, the sketches give graphic descriptions and vivid portraits of the scenes and sights of Cairo—its splendid mosques, mausoleums, citadel and royal palaces. The utility and value of the book are materially enhanced by the numerous excellent full-page illustrations. Altogether, *Rambles in Cairo* is a very useful contribution to Egyptian topography.

The *Indian Ink* (T. H. Campbell-Howes, Calcutta), we hope, will be a permanent annual and will not end with the war. The five numbers so far issued have all been supremely excellent both in letter-press and illustrations, and the "splashes from various pens in aid of the Imperial Indian war fund" have delighted thousands of readers in this country. Its contributors have been persons of recognized position in the literary world. The present number—that for 1918—is a well-chosen reportory of sketches, poems, stories, coloured pictures and black-and-white drawings. Great credit is due to Mr. C. H. Turner, the editor, and Mr. Campbell-Howes, the publisher.

President Wilson being the world-man of the hour, it is not surprising if books about him and collections of his addresses have begun to pour in upon us. *War Addresses of Woodrow Wilson* (Ginn & Co., London) have been brought together by Mr. A. R. Leonard, M. A., prefaced by an excellent biographical Introduction and elucidated with helpful notes. There are fifteen addresses ranging in time from 22nd January, 1917, to 4th July, 1918. The book ought to have a permanent value as the addresses enunciate principles which are likely to become the accepted political creed of the civilized world in the near future.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, have added to their Biographies of Eminent Indians Series sketches Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir J. C. Bose

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and Sir P. C. Ray. Sir S. P. Sinha, the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council has now become the first Indian Member of the British Ministry. The discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. Ray's Researches in Hindu Chemistry have won for them great distinction as the premier scientists in India. The sketches give detailed accounts of the life and career of each of these well known men and contain copious extracts from their writings and speeches. Each sketch has a fine frontispiece.

Messrs. Natesan & Co., (Madras) have rendered a service to Indian public life by collecting in a compact and handy volume the *Essays and Discourses* of Dr. Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray. Sir Prafulla is not only a great scientist but a great thinker and his speeches and writings now brought together are highly thoughtful and suggestive. The volume should be carefully read by the author's English-knowing countrymen, who will find it extremely stimulating. Prefixed to the book is an excellent sketch of Sir Prafulla's, which adds to the value of the work.

Messrs. Ganesh & Co., (Madras) have done well to publish a revised and enlarged edition of the *Speeches and Writings* of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Pandit Malaviya is one of the most prominent Indian publicists and has taken an active part in our public activities for now more than thirty years. His views, as embodied in the speeches and writings brought together in the volume under notice, deserve to obtain a large circulation amongst his countrymen, which, we trust, they will receive in the excellent edition before us. The book is very neatly got up.

The Student's Practical (Anglo-Hindi) Dictionary (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad) is a very useful compilation, as is evidenced by its having reached a seventh edition. The meanings of the English words are given both in that language and in Hindi in expressive terms and the book will be valuable to students, for whom it is mainly intended. The printing and get-up are very neat and reflect credit on the resources and enterprise of the publisher.

Of the many diaries intended for lawyers, one of the best is that compiled by Mr. J. N. Ghosh and known after him as *Ghosh's Lawyer's Diary* (Rai M. C. Sarkar Bahadur and Sons, 9012 Harrison Road, Calcutta). The edition for 1919 is replete with much varied information useful to lawyers and its handy size, neat get-up, and one page space for each date, render it of great utility to the profession.

Our hearty welcome to the *Hindi Punch Annual* (Bombay). As usual the selections of cartoons from the weekly *Hindi Punch* are very happy and present a vivid pictorial commentary on the social and political events and affairs of the last year. The *Hindi Punch* is the only journal of its class in India and it is conducted with great ability and humour. Its cartoons are reproduced in even the London press.

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"The Pioneer" Versus "The Hindustan Review."

I.

In the *Pioneer* of December 25th, there appeared the following editorial paragraph casting reflections on my conduct as editor of the *Hindustan Review* :—

'TREASON, however heinous it may appear to the eye of Government, cannot, according to the general sense of mankind, be classed under infamous actions, and be called a disgraceful crime, as it proceeds from a mistaken sense of patriotism.' This sentiment is contained in an article on the Rowlatt Committee's report published in a review edited by a former member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The long record of murders and robberies and conspiracies having massacre as their object which is to be found in the report has consistently been treated with levity by a section of the Press in India. The writer of the article from which we have quoted does not cast doubt on the trustworthiness of the narrative, but instead of denouncing the miscreants who have debauched and ruined hundreds of schoolsboys and students he asserts that 'Lord Curzon is directly responsible for the breeding of anarchists in India, and declares that the crimes committed were nothing when compared with other countries suffering under a like despotism.' Yet at the coming Congress the repeal of the Press Act will no doubt be demanded on the ground that its provisions render it impossible for men to write freely on public affairs. It would be interesting to know how much further some of the aggrieved persons would like to be able to go in their criticisms.

On the 28th I despatched to the editor of the *Pioneer* by registered post a reply—a copy of which is printed below. As the *Pioneer* did not care to publish my letter, I sent its copy to the press in India. Many of the leading papers have published the letter with comments which are reproduced below.

II.

[To The Editor of the *Pioneer*]

Sir,—Will you permit me to say that the editorial paragraph in the *Pioneer* of December 25th on a passage quoted by you, torn from its context, from the article entitled 'the Rowlatt Romance—a Tragedy' by Mr. S. G. Warty, M. A., in the last number of the *Hindustan Review* is not at all fair? One would think from it that the editor of the "Review" published an article in which murders and robberies and conspiracies having massacre as their object "have been condoned if not extolled." That nothing of the kind was done should become clear to the meanest understanding from a consideration of the passage you quoted, if taken along

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with its context. The avowed purpose of the article "is to point out the right moral as unfolded in the story (of the Rowlatt Report), without casting doubts on the trustworthiness of the history of revolutionary crime as narrated in the report." The first point made by the writer is the complete failure of British statesmanship in its dealings with the Chitpavans. Why does the writer think there has been a failure? He says:—'The Chitpavans are an intelligent active people, and were the actual ruling race in western India. The overthrow of the Peshwas' power and the advent of the British meant to them the loss of all privileges and prestige, which under the old Government they could command, and, in a sense, their complete downfall. If from such a people hatred to British rule should not have been expected, from whom else could it have been? A wise, a statesmanlike Government would have done all it could to pacify and conciliate a people who had thus suffered much and to whom past glory was but of yesterday. If the spirit of conciliation introduced by Mountstuart Elphinstone had been continued and if Government had shown an evident desire to invest the people with authority and responsibility so as to make them feel that they were not very great losers by a change in Government, troubles would not have arisen. But so it was not to be. The British trusted solely to their arms and their Penal Code and stigmatized the Chitpavans as actuated by the spirit of treason.' What you have quoted—and not quoted in full—as the offending sentence follows the above passage and it is as follows:—'Treason, however heinous it may appear to the eye of a Government, cannot, according to the general sense of mankind be classed under infamous actions and be classed as a disgraceful crime as it proceeds from a mistaken sense of patriotism, *and the only way to eradicate it is to win the hearts of the people.*' You unfairly omitted to quote the last part of the sentence which I have italicized above, and also the sentence that followed it *viz.* If their own history could teach the British any thing at all it is this.' These omissions, I submit, make a very material difference and I contend that it is not playing the game to have done so and then criticized the garbled sentence.

Now agree with or differ from the writer's views as you may—I myself as only the editor of the *Hindustan Review* and not the writer of the article, am free to do either—I would ask you with some confidence what after all, there is in it to rouse one's ire as it did yours! I have re-read the whole of the article and without necessarily agreeing with all that is said therein, or saying that I myself might not have written some passages differently, I have not the least hesitation in avowing, notwithstanding your strident attack, that I see nothing wrong in having admitted it into the pages of the *Hindustan Review*. I must, however, admit in fairness to you the very peculiar propriety of *your* donning the garb of self-righteousness and rebuking me for my heinous offence, when

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I recall that, alone in India if I remember aright, you enthusiastically applauded the assassination of the approver, Narendra Nath Gossain in the Alipore jail in 1908. Your editorial paragraph printed in the *Pioneer* of the 4th September, 1908, makes so telling a commentary on your criticism of me and brings out in such strong relief the value to be attached to it, that I must quote here the full text of it. It is as follows:—

"It would not be easy to come across a better instance of the misuse of language than the comments which the Calcutta papers in their excitement put forward on the Alipore jail murder. The *Englishman* distinguished it as a "brutal" and a "foul" murder—words that might be properly used of a deed attended with atrocious or disgusting circumstances, or committed from some peculiarly base motives, such as the murders of children for their ornaments. All murder is brutal but the assassination in the Alipore jail was as little marked by brutality as any crime of the sort can be. The *Statesman*, going a step further into ineptitude, calls it a "cowardly assassination of an unarmed man by men who were provided with deadly weapons." What the two malefactors evidently should have done would have been to give the informer their revolver and agree upon a given third signal for opening fire. But possibly even the Bengal jail arrangements would not have admitted of these preliminaries and in any case murderers not being dualists, it is ridiculous to speak of a crime of this kind as being stamped with a particular infamy, because, those who executed it did not put their victim on his guard and see that he was properly armed to defend himself. "Cowardly" the deed most certainly was not. An act of this kind committed within the four walls of a jail allows no hope of escape; the only alternative left is between suicide and the gallows. Such a crime may be properly described as a desperate action, but it is fatuous to call it a cowardly one. Murder though it has only one punishment, has many degrees of blackness. And on any fair view this Alipore crime approaches the hue of grey as much as any action of this kind can do. The informer to save his own skin had decided to do his best to destroy his fellows; two of them resolved to make away with him before he could appear to tell his tale before the sessions court. This is murder but it is also self-devotion. The law will take its course doubtless, nevertheless, and justice is indeed particularly bound to avenge the informer, whom the executive Government has failed to protect, but when we come to ethical judgments we are clear of the codes, and instead of burying the question in a heap of jargon it is better to endeavour to put things in their true light. If we use such words as 'callous' 'cowardly' and 'foul' of the Alipore crime, what is to be said of those who murder young women for lust or bed-ridden old women for the sake of their savings? If the Bengalees like to enthrone these two young men hereafter in popular remembrance as another Hor-

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modius and Aristogeiton it is not easy to see how any one would justly object to the selection." These are your own words.

Your contemporaries, not only Indian but also Anglo-Indian, came down upon you for this scandalous defence of murder and praise of the murderers, but you neither withdrew what you had written nor expressed any regret for it. There was no Press Act then, nor, as our subsequent experience has shown, would it have been perhaps utilized against you, had there been one. But I tremble to think what fate would have overtaken an Anglo-Vernacular paper if that paragraph had appeared in it. Nor am I surprised at your pointed and significant reference to me as 'former member of the Imperial Legislative Council,' for did you not say on another occasion that it was the same political species from 'the smooth-tongued legislator to the bomb-thrower'? But I may inform you that I was in the Council when the Press Act was passed and was not one of the two members who voted against it. For my not offering opposition to its passage, I was severely taken to task by the Indian press. I must, however, tell you that having since observed the very invidious manner in which local Governments have administered the Act—letting Anglo-Indian journals go scot-free, whatever license they may have permitted themselves in attacking the Government, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on the one side or my unfortunate countrymen on the other, while its rigours have been made to be felt by even harmless Indian editors and keepers of printing presses—I have been forced to regret my attitude of 1910 and am now among the convinced opponents of that legislation. I feel so keenly on the subject that I unhesitatingly joined the deputation of the Press Association of India which waited upon his Excellency the Viceroy last year to urge the repeal of the Press Act—that deputation which was handled so roughly by you and other Anglo-Indian papers. I take particular care to say this as you thought it right to conclude your paragraph against me by expressing surprise at the demand for the repeal of the Act.

I am

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Sachchidananda Sinha,

Editor, *The Hindustan Review.*

Press Comments.

We are in receipt to-day of a letter from Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha of the *Hindustan Review*, exposing the ungallant conduct of the local Anglo-Indian daily in making a gratuitous attack on the talented Editor of that well-conducted periodical. It appears that Mr. S. G. Warty had, in the course of an article, appearing in the *Review* referred to the way in which a certain Brahmin community had been spoken of

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in the Rowlatt Report. "Treason," according to the writer, "however heinous it may appear to the eye of a Government cannot according to the general sense of mankind, be classed under infamous actions or as a disgraceful crime, as it proceeds from a mistaken sense of patriotism, and the only way to eradicate it is to win the hearts of the people." It suited the tactics of the *Pioneer* to ignore the last clause in the passage quoted above, and on the strength of the mutilated sentence to impeach Mr. Sinha, "a former member of the Imperial Legislative Council," as an apostle of treason and sedition. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha duly protested, but the *Pioneer* alive to the sense of journalistic etiquette and the duty one gentleman owes to another would not publish his letter. As Mr. Sinha tersely puts it, the *Pioneer* has not played the game. It would not be indeed true to its traditions if it would. In connection with the incident the learned Editor of the *Hindustan Review* reminds us how the doughty critic of Indian journalism perpetrated in 1908 the very indiscretion which it would impute to others It is not, however, by exposure or by expostulation that journals of the type of the *Pioneer* can be induced to mend their ways. They might break, but would not bend. As Mr. Sinha states there was no Press Act in those days and "it would not have been utilised against you had there been one." Indeed, so far as *Pioneer & Co.*, are concerned, the Press Act exists no more in the year 1919 than it did in the year 1908.—*The Muslim Herald.*

The *Leader* publishes the text of an extremely interesting letter which Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha addressed to the *Pioneer* in reply to a wanton attack made upon him by that journal, but which the latter has not had the fairness to print. As is the way of this class of journals, the *Pioneer* tore a passage from its context in an article contributed to the *Hindustan Review*, of which Mr. Sinha, as is well known is the editor, and on that peg hung the following precious homily :—" This sentiment is contained in an article on the Rowlatt Committee report published in a review edited by a former member of the Imperial Legislative Council !" And the following also :—" Yet at the coming Congress the repeal of the Press Act will no doubt be demanded on the ground that its provisions render it impossible for men to write freely on public affairs." Mr. Sinha, as might have been expected, is not only able to repel the attack made upon him as the *Leader* points out, but completely turns the tables upon his assailant. He quotes from the *Pioneer* of the 4th September, 1908, the famous leaderette in which that journal compared the murderers of the informer in the Alipur jail with Hormodius and Aristogeiton, and said that " the crime approached the hue of grey as much as any action of the same kind could do," and concludes with the following unanswerable retort :—*The Tribune.*

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We print elsewhere a letter addressed by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha to the *Pioneer* in reply to an attack on him as editor of the *Hindustan Review* making a serious accusation; a letter which our contemporary has not published. Mr. Sinha, as will be seen from his letter, not only succeeds in vindicating himself completely but is able to turn the tables on his assailant very effectively by recalling a gross indiscretion committed by it in the past. On reading that old effusion of the *Pioneer's* quoted by Mr. Sinha, one is tempted to exclaim, here's a case of Satan rebuking sin. The *Pioneer's* criticism of the editor of the *Hindustan Review* was equally unfair and unnecessary; its failure to publish his letter in reply, much more so.—The *Leader*.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has unearthed from the *Pioneer*, writing on the assassination of an approver in Alipore Jail, the following remarkable paragraph: "This is murder but it is also self-devotion. The law will take its course doubtless none the less, and justice is indeed particularly bound to avenge the informer, whom the Executive Government has failed to protect, but when we come to ethical judgements we are clear of the codes, and instead of burying the question in a heap of jorgan it is better to endeavour to put things in their true light. If we use such words as "callous," "cowardly," and "foul" of the Alipore crime, what is to be said of those who murder young women for lust, or bed-ridden old women for the sake of their savings?" Yet we remember that *New India* was prosecuted for reprinting an article in which, while crime was strongly condemned, it was out pointed that the remedy needed was not coercion only.—The *Commonweal*.

Lately the *Hindustan Review* published an article on the "Rowlatt Romance," which was misinterpreted by the *Pioneer*, which sought to show that the editor, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, lately of the Imperial Council, was responsible for the sentiment that treason, however heinous it might appear in the eyes of the Government, could not, according to the general sense of mankind, be classed under infamous actions. Mr. Sinha wrote a full note addressed to the *Pioneer* refuting the charge, which was not published by the Allahabad paper. Mr. Sinha has caused publication of his note in its entirety in the *Leader* of the 16th instant. The note furnishes a specimen of Anglo-Indian verbal twisting and distorting of the views of eminent Indians to suit its own books. Mr. Sinha proves in the first place that the article attributed to himself came from a contributor, and, secondly, that the quotations, *prima facie* so damaging to the reputation of the Indian, were not only torn from their context, but were mutilated.—The *Bombay Chronicle*.

We publish in this issue a very interesting communication from Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. It has already appeared in the *Leader* of Monday last and we hope that the press will give it the wide publicity it deserves.

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After garbling an otherwise innocent passage from an article in the November *Hindustan Review*, the Allahabad Anglo-Indian daily, the *Pioneer*, made it the text of a grossly unfair attack on Mr. Sinha as the editor of that well-known periodical. Mr. Sinha immediately sent to the *Pioneer* a crushing rejoinder in which he, not only fully vindicated his conduct as editor of the *Hindustan Review* but turned the tables effectively on the Anglo-Indian organ by recalling its famous or rather infamous comments on the murder in the Alipur Jail. Mr. Sinha's letter is not only interesting but an instructive commentary on the very unfair methods pursued by many of the Anglo-Indian journals in their discussion of the views of the Indian publicists. By exposing the *Pioneer's* methods and tactics, Mr. Sinha has rendered a service to our public life.—*The Searchlight.*

The *Hindustan Review* published in a recent issue a signed article on the Rowlatt Committee's Report from a contributor. In the course of that article, the writer had observed : "Treason, however heinous it may appear to the eye of a government, cannot according to the general sense of mankind be classed under infamous actions and be classed as a disgraceful crime as it proceeds from a mistaken sense of patriotism, *and the only way to eradicate it is to win the hearts of the people.*" The *Pioneer* quoted this without the italicised portion of the sentence, and proceeded to throw mud at the editor of the *Review* in which the article appeared, and Indian politicians in general. Mr. S. Sinha, the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, replied by a letter to the *Pioneer* recalling its applause of the murderer of an approver in the Alipore Jail ten years ago, and comparing the two murderers to Harmodion and Aristogeton. The *Pioneer* wrote :—"Murder though it has only one punishment, has many degrees of blackness. And on any fair view this Alipore crime approaches the hue of grey as much as any action of this kind can do. The informer to save his own skin had decided to do his best to destroy his fellows. Two of them resolved to make away with him before he could appear to tell his tale before the sessions court. This is murder but it is also self-devotion. If we use such words as 'callous' 'cowardly' and 'foul' of the Alipore crime, what is to be said of those who murder young women for lust or bed-ridden old women for the sake of their savings ? If the Bengalees like to enthrone these two young men hereafter in popular remembrance as another Hormodius and Aristogeton it is not easy to see how anyone would justly object to the selection." The *Pioneer* has not, for obvious reasons, cared to publish Mr. Sinha's letter, and he has, therefore, sent it round in a printed form to several other newspapers, one of these being ourselves, It is hardly necessary to point out the absurdity of the *Pioneer*, with this paragraph to its credit, criticising another journal. But the way, the Rowlatt Committee itself has offered grounds for concluding that they (the outrages) were the outcome of a widespread but essentially

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single movement of *perverted religion and equally perverted patriotism.*" The italics are ours. The writer in the *Hindustan Review* had merely paraphrased this sentiment. Assuming that the *Pioneer's* indignation was genuine, it should have been directed against the Committee in the first place. *The Indian Social Reformer.*

The *Pioneer* sought to put Mr. S. Sinha of the *Hindustan Review* into trouble by publishing the following editorial paragraph in its issue of December 25th last in which serious reflections were cast on his conduct as editor of that monthly : On the 28th of that month, Mr. Sinha despatched to the editor of the *pioneer* by registered post a reply. But he has not cared to publish it in his paper up till now. Amongst other things, Mr. Sinha pointed out that the *Pioneer* had been so grossly unfair as to omit important portions from the extract he quoted to suit his purpose. For instance, the passage quoted by the *Pioneer* really stands thus. "Treason, however heinous it may appear to the eye of a Government cannot, according to the general sense of mankind be classed under infamous actions and be classed as a graceful crime as it proceeds from a mistaken sense of patriotism, *and the only way to eradicate it is to win the hearts of the people.* And Mr. Sinha in his reply to the *pioneer* justly complains :—" You unfairly omitted to quote the last part of the sentence which I have italicised above, and also the sentence that followed it *viz.*, "If their own history could teach the British any thing at all it is this. These omissions, I submit, make a very material difference and I contend that it is not playing the game to have done so and then criticised the garbled sentence." But possibly the *pioneer* would have published Mr. Sinha's letter if he had stopped here. But he unearthed a ghost from the columns of the Allahabad paper which evidenly so frightened its editor as to lead him to throw Mr. Sinha's rejoinder into the Jumna in fear and trembling. Well, he presented to the dazed eyes of the editor the memorable editorial paragraph in which the *Pioneer* had eulogised in rapturous terms the assassination of the approver Noren Gossain in the Alipur Jail by Kanai Lal Dutt. Mr. Sinha was charged with having published what in the opinion of the *Pioneer* is rank sedition, he in his turn took his revenge upon the Allahabad paper by reminding him of what he did in September 1908. Says Mr. Sinha in his reply to the *Pioneer.*—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

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The Wise Patriot: A Poem.

By Mr. N. GUPTA.

I'm the bloke that blocks the blooming view, but I'm happy, you bet,
Praise the Lord ! I'm right O ! whether it's dry or wet !
Didn't I jabber with the best, didn't I whine and howl ?
Pon my word. I sang as the lark and screech'd as the owl !
I'm the sly one, I'm the wise one, I'm the one among all,
I watch the barometer and I know its rise and fall !
God bless you for a simple 'un! doncher know,
[and its flow !
I'm an Advocate and I've got the gift of the gab and the rise of eloquence
And I love the Motherland, no greater lover than me,
And when I thunder on the people's platform I never ask for a fee !
Ah! but I know when to stop and when to rest,
[is for the best ;
And when I get a wink from my learned friend on the other side, I know it
So I'm content for great changes are coming and we are promised an instalment
Of responsible government and the country's betterment.
They be fools who kick and shout and look north and south,
For who has ever heard of looking a gift horse in the mouth ?
It may be the bone or the shadow, it may be right or wrong,
But I'll be damned if I go again to hear the President's gong !
If it's the shadow—damn it!—I'll take it and for the substance wait,
And now and for all time I'll gang my own gait !
Be think you I've feather'd my nest and I've gather'd wool
And if I forget the main chance I'm sure I'm a darned fool !

THE OPEN FORUM.

SOME light on the Russian mind is undoubtedly thrown by its literature. Dr. S. S. Nehru, I. C. S., helps us in this direction by his very able adaptation of the Russian poet Pushkin's "Pikovaya Dama." It tells of the unhealthy excitement of wine and cards and incidentally woman with its inevitable tragedy. If the youth of a nation are brought up on literature of this description, or if it is at all a transcript of Russian life, past or present, then the mad, wicked and unforgivable depths to which the Bolsheviks have descended affords its own condemnation. No one can admire this product, almost fiendish, of a writer's mind, just as no one can honestly admire Goethe's "Faust" with its mocking Mephistopheles. Such writers have done untold injury to the nation which bred them, and we hope that they will not in these days be accepted as models anywhere. If literature is a transcript of life then this adaptation by Mr. S. S. Nehru, clever as we admit it is of Pushkin's poem, is an unforgettable example of how life should *not* be lived. - *Indian Daily Telegraph.*

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EDITED BY SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, BAR-AT-LAW.

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The following Royal Proclamation by his Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor dated the 23rd Decem[illegible] published for general information.

BY ORDER,
H. McPHERSON.
Secretary to the Government of India.

[illegible]-Emperor.

[illegible]LAMATION.

[illegible] United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland [illegible] the seas, King Defender of the Faith, Emperor [illegible] India. [illegible]nor-General, to the Princes of Indian States, and to all my [illegible]oever race or creed, greeting.

1. Another epoc[illegible] in the annals of India. I have given my Royal Assen[illegible] its place among the great historic measures passed by t[illegible] for the better Government of India and for the great[illegible] of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish [illegible] and justice under the Honourable East Ind[illegible] door for Indians to public office and emp[illegible] administration from the Company to the [illegible] life which exist in India to-day. The A[illegible] institutions, and the seed was quickened [illegible] has now become law entrusts th[illegible] nite share in the Government [illegible] ereafter. If, as I confidently [illegible] ve its purpose, the results [illegible] it is timely and fitting the [illegible] merged to join me in my hopes of [illegible]

2. [illegible] it has been held as a sacred t[illegible] Queen Victoria of revered memory solemn[illegible] subjects by the same obligations of duty as [illegible] to them religious freedom and the equal a[illegible] his message to the Indian people in 1903 my [illegible] unced his determination to maintain unimpaired [illegible] and equitable administration. Again in his Proc[illegible] assurances which had been given 50 years before and su[illegible] had inspired. On my accession to the throne in 1910 [illegible] inces and peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and [illegible] the prosperity and happiness of India should always [illegible] terest and concern. In the following year I visited India [illegible] testified my sympathy for her people and my desire [illegible]

3. Whi[illegible] affection and devotion by which I and my predecessors [illegible] ment and the people of this Realm and my officers in [illegible] ious for the moral and material advance-

SAVE

"C[illegible]

The [illegible] to them religious freedom and the enorm[illegible] his message to the Indian people in of "O[illegible] ounced his determination to maintain eliminate[illegible] and equitable administration. Again DIRECT[illegible] assurances which had been given 50 years man is allo[illegible] had inspired. On my accession to the out entirely an[illegible] inces and peoples of India acknowledging [illegible] the prosperity and happiness of India [illegible] terest and concern. In the following year [illegible] testified my sympathy for her people

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ment of India. We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength ; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

4. I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War, and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxiety and victories. In truth, the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible Government.

5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy and in the march towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popul... Ancient ... Gaziwalla's ... interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to ... on Pollock's ... of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. ... prudence and ... ple, the Ministers of the future, to face respon... and opinion in Engl... on, to sacrifice much for the common inter... Sen's Introduction to ... dian Law of Transf... dence tism transcends party and communal ... vives ... inking of the legislatures, to co-operate ... Yajnik's ... general unessential differences and in maintain... of the ... their new colleagues ous government. Equally do I rely ... Act ... the people and their and to work with them in harmony ... Usurio... : and to find in these representatives in an orderly advan... Mulla... their highest purpose of new tasks a fresh opportunity de... Practic... faithful service to my people. ... Daulat... possible any trace of

6. It is my ear... relating ... Hand ... for my government bitterness between my ... Wor... & political progress have should be obliterated, ... nation... become possible for broken the law in the ... rd (in Ali ... orderly government to those who are charged ... relating ... Indian ... era is opening. Let forget the extravagance ... with ... my officers to work it begin with a commo... edure ... Acts ... exercise in my together for a commons, ... Barkat Ali ... in the fullest name and on my behal... Coun... Government of In... desire him measure which in his j... (as amended by A... State or to extend it on this co... Interest with Historical a... or restric- under any special or e... tory Notes, Case L... future ... ration of M. Barkat Ali ... to demean conduct of those wh... the de... Trusts in Equity, by ... offences themselves as to render it ... hereafter. ... Shah Ali ... ...

7. Simultaneously with the ... Law of English Co... e gladly assented to the establishment of Act, by M. Barkat Ali ... s counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to ... Hindu Law of Ad... elves, may advance the interests which are commo... a Summary of C... itish India, and may be to the advantage of the ... by G. K. Kada... the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of ... Law of Inte... tain unimpair- ed their privileges, rights and dignities. ... India, by ...

8. It is my intention to send ... Sastri and Pr... of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf ... ces and the new constitutions in British India. May ... Law of Allu... and confidence prevailing among those on whom will re... Vol. I, by T. ... untry, so that success may crown their labours, and ... administration. ... d that by His Wisdom and under His guidance Indi... prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fulne...

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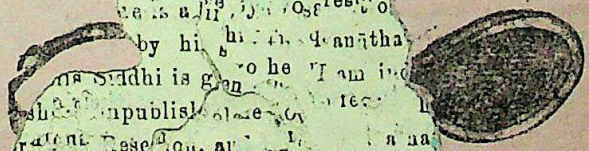

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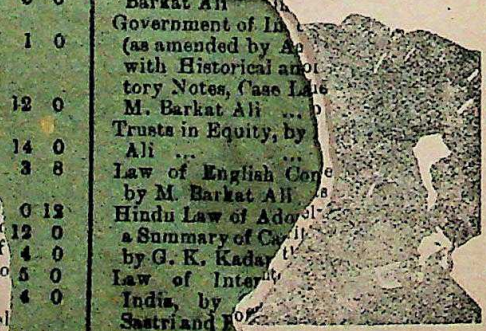

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The HINDUSTAN REVIEW deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and poetical—among the educated classes of India :—"Truth" (London).

The HINDUSTAN REVIEW is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind."—The late Mr. W. T Stead in the "Review of Reviews." (London).

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Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

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Sarvanandanatha.

By SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

THE Sarvollāsa, a [illegible] came into my possession some three years ago, [illegible] Sangraha by the Sarvavidyāsiddha Sarvānandanātha [illegible] ebrated amongst the Bengal followers of the Aga[illegible] nk, almost unknown to the general public. There is a [illegible] of Sarvānandanātha entitled Sarvānandataranginī by hi[illegible] anātha in which an account of the attainment of his Siddhi is g[illegible] indebted in respect of this article to a sh[illegible] Dinesha Chandra Bhattāchāryya, for [illegible] a native of Tipperah has had the desire [illegible] History of the so called "Tantricis[illegible]

It is [illegible] striven for Siddhi for seven previous birth[illegible] the names of the places where he died in these successiv[illegible] Father Vāsudeva originally lived at Purvasthali in [illegible] but was led by a divine call to Mehar in Tipperah [illegible] Mātanga Muni had done Tapas. A deep hole is st[illegible] Mātanga's time. It is also said that round abo[illegible] andanātha performed his Shavasādhanā, adept[illegible] ver the hidden Linga established by Mātanga [illegible] den barriers or Kīlakas.

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Vāsudeva then went to Kāmākhyā where he died after undergoing severe Tapas. He left his son at Mehar who himself afterwards had a son, the grandson of Vāsudeva. In fact it is said that the grandfather Vāsudeva was reborn as the son of his own son that is as Sarvānanda. In early life the latter was stupid and illiterate. He was sharply rebuked by the local Rajah for his ignorance in proclaiming a new moon day to be Full Moon day. Being severely punished by his relatives he determined to begin his letters and went out to search for the necessary palm-leaves. There in the jungle he met a Sannyasī, who was Mahādeva himself in that form and who whispered in his ears a Mantra and gave him certain instructions. His servant Puna was an advanced Sādhaka, who had been psychically developed under Vāsudeva. Puna separating the subtle (Sūkshmadeha) from the gross body, served as a corpse on the back of which Sarvānanda performed Shavasādhanā and attained Siddhi that same new moon night on which to the amazement of all a perfect moon shone over Mehar. This full moon episode is popularly the most famous of Sarvananda's wonders.

Some time after Sarvānanda left Mehar after having given utterance to the curse that his own family would d... and opini... the 22nd, and that of the local chief in the 15th generation... announcement is said to have come true as the Raja's descendant in the fifteenth generation actually died without issue, though the family survives through his adopted son. Sarvānan... started for Benares but stopped at Senhati in Jessore where he... to marry again and where he lived for some years. His p... At the age of 50 he went to... Sadānanda. At Benares t... servant Puna and nephew ...ns were then, as now, predominant. He quarrelled with... ...e, with him, on account of his doctrines and practice.

In return for their treat... he to their awe and possibly disgust converted (so it is s... course the Benares Dandins, account of the matter. Their tru... Sarvānanda was convinced by the ... boasted of was no real Siddhī at all a... own doctrines, which is the most satisf... of piety who wrangle with others ... their views. It is worthy of not... the pious and wonder workers have ... so much of the quieter sage... their views not amongst those w... or thought they knew, but am... sought.

Mulli... Practic... Senhati is still shown. Dau... Han... 12 0 10 0 6 0 3 0 0 1 0 0 5 0 4 8 ...ne to ... Go... (as am... to me... with H... ...tical a... tory Notes, Case Li... M. Barkat Ali ... Trusts in E... the V... by ...hi Ali ... Law of ... made a convert to their by M. Bar... results for the men Hindu Law o... a Summary... e them come over to by G. K... in all ages many of Law of India, ... perhaps we do not hear Sastri and P... ...rs live, diffusing Law of Alluvi... Vol. I. by T. ... that they knew ...nd and therefore THI... & Co.

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After this event Sarvānanda disappeared from Benares which rather points to the fact that the Dandins did not acquire a distinguished adversary for their community. Tradition is silent as to what happened to him later and as to the date and place of his end.

Sj. Dinesh Chandra Bhattāchāryya has made for me a calculation as to the date of Sarvānanda's Siddhi which fell on a Pausha Samkrānti corresponding to Chaturdasī or Amavasyā falling on a Friday. Between 1200 and 1700 A. D. there are three dates on which the above combination took place *viz.*, 1342, 1426, and 1548 A. D. The first date is too early as 15 or 16 generations, to which his family descends at present, does not carry us so far back. The last date seems too late. For according to tradition Jānakīvallabha Gurvvāchāryya, himself a famous Siddha, and fifth in descent from Sarvānanda, was a contemporary of one of the "twelve Bhuiyas" of Bengal late in the reign of Akbar (*circ.* 1600 A. D.). The date 1426 A. D. is therefore adopted. It will thus appear that he lived about a century before the three great Bengal Tāntrikas namely Krishnānanda, Brahmānanda and Purnānanda, all of whom are of the 16th century. But this calculation has still to be verified by data culled from an examination of the Sarvollasa such as the authorities which [illegible] author cites.

This last work [illegible] is that by which he is best known. Two other short Tāntrika works are ascribed to a Sarvānanda though whether it is the same Siddha is not certain. There is I am told a Navārnapūjapaddhati by Sarvānandanatha in a MS. dated 1668 Vikramābda in the Raghu[illegible] Temple Library in Kashmir and another work the Tripurārchanādī [illegible] ported from the Central Provinces.

As is usual in such cases [illegible] legend that Sarvānanda is still living by Kāyavyuha in some [illegible] resort of Siddha-purushes. The author of the memoir from wh[illegible] quote tells of a Sadhu who said to my informant that some years [illegible] he met Sarvanandanātha in a place called Champakāranya but [illegible] a few minutes for the Sadhu was himself miracul[illegible]sly wa[illegible]

Some ver[illegible] interest to the psychologist, the student of P[illegible] the historian of religions is to be found in the stories [illegible] told of Sadhus and Siddhas of Sarvānanda's type who, whe[illegible] ney did all that is recounted of them or not, yet lived so strangely, as for instance, to take another case, that of Brahmānanda the author of the S[illegible]nandataranginī who, going in his youth in quest of a prostitute, [illegible] in the house he entered and in the woman who came to hi[illegible] other, herself the victim of a Mussulman ravisher. [illegible] this encounter which converted his mind and led [illegible] ciehu, during which life he did Dhyāna [illegible] elephant and the other things

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related of him. They await collection. But when their value has been discovered possibly these traditions may have disappeared. Even if all the facts related of these Sadhus and Siddhas were the work of imagination (and whilst some of them may be so, others, are in all probability true enough) they are worth preservation as such. The history of the human mind is as much a fact as anything which is reverenced because it is "objective." This last class of fact is generally only the common experience. It is attractive, yet sometimes fearsome, to follow the mind's wanderings both in the light and in that curious dark, which only explorers in these paths know. If one does not lose one's way (and in this lies a peril) we emerge with a confidence in ourselves at having passed a test—a confidence which will serve our future. In any case as I have said there is an opportunity of research for those whose workings are in the outer crust of mere historical fact.

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Children's Rights.

By Dr. Arthur R. S. Roy.

THE savage thinks he has a perfect right to kill his child. To-day the law in civilised countries hangs the parent who kills his off spring. There are still parents, who think that they can punish and thrash their children as they like. Most parents think so. In this matter, they are only a little better than savages. In theory, we have progressed somewhat. To-day, there is a Society for the Prevention of cruelty to children, but they cannot do much ; because the child-beaters are mostly cowards. They beat the poor, helpless, innocent beings in the privacy of their homes, where outsiders cannot see them. They do not dare to beat their children in the open. They are afraid of people calling them "brutal." But they do not hesitate to pollute the sweetness of their homes by the cry of pain and fear that their ill-treatment forces from the lips of the weak and helpless entrusted to their care.

"To prevent mischief," these parents say in excuse, to justify their cruelty. It is a slur on the parent's intelligence if the child falls into mischief. It merely proves, that the parents did not possess sufficient sense to provide the child with diversion enough to occupy its mind. The mischievous child proves the brightness of his own mind and the fertility of his imagination and at the same time the stupidity of his parents, who cannot employ the activity of the budding mind.

"Spare the rod and spoil the child" was the dictum of Solomon. Never did [illegible] with a reputation for wisdom, utter a more foolish, and [illegible]ful saying. But what could a man with [illegible] wives and co-wives know of children ? He could [illegible] have had the time to study children amidst the squalling of so many women. Each time a child is thrashed in compliance with his advice, the Jew must suffer an additional pang in Hell ; for I cannot believe this uxorious Hebrew can be playing [illegible] mouthharp within the Pearly Gates—if for nothing else [illegible] wicked sentence which has caused suffering to so many [illegible]ns.

A close sy[illegible] scientific study, based on a deep knowledge of [illegible] mind of the child

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is a wonderful, pliable, impressionable and active miracle. It can be easily moulded under proper handling. It can be easily kept out of mischief by affording it sufficient occupation. Its energy can be easily diverted into good and useful channels under wise guidance. It can be easily taught, taught more than the ordinary person thinks it capable of learning, if in the hands of experienced teachers, and it really understands far more and more clearly than one usually believes.

The child asks too many questions, the parents cannot answer. They get angry and the child is thrashed for disturbing. It is only a confession of the parents' ignorance.

The child is told to keep quiet. His growing muscles twitch, his active mind is bored by inoccupation, his youthful exuberance bursts forth and he suddenly laughs out, or makes a noise. He is punished for disobedience! He is really punished for his parents stupidity.

A child refuses to obey. He is immediately thrashed. Any fool, any savage can thrash a child into obedience in ten minutes; but it takes a clever and intelligent man hours to compel a child to do his bidding, by showing him the folly of his refusal and the wisdom of his obedience.

When a full grown man obstinately refuses to do something; he is either admired for being a determined man of high spirit, possessing a strong will; or his friends reason with him for hours and days. But the child is thrashed. The child also has rights, as much and as many as h[illegible]ders.

Those rights are recognised w[illegible] the children grow older—not because the parents think them wiser; but because the children are strong enough to de[illegible]d due respect to their rights. In other words parents be[illegible]hildren only so long as they can do it with impunity—in[illegible]re me[illegible]bullies.

In justice to parents, there ar[illegible]incerely believe they are doing the best by their childr[illegible]l for their good when they use the rod. They are well mea[illegible]g; but they are unmitigated fools, unfit to take up the responsibility of parents and sadly in want of proper know[illegible]dge of the management, training and teaching of children. [illegible]y should read a few books about children.

The brutality of parents brea[illegible]t of children, who grow up to be insignificant, cringi[illegible]ithout initiative, without courage.

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The cruelty and injustice of parents produce a race of men, who cannot think of right except in the terms of might. Thus ignorant, bullying parents impede the march of civilisation and lower the spirit and moral standard of humanity.

High up on the cold mountains of Switzerland there was a man called Pestalozzi, who devoted his whole life to the study and training of children. He found that with patience and kindness he could get the most recalcitrant, and mischievous youngster to do what he wanted. Dr. Arnold of England had the same experience. In the United States of America floggings and punishments are more and more discouraged. To-day they set a bad or stupid boy to do something that interests his mind. In that work he forgets to be bad and becomes bright.

Punishment and reward are relics of barbaric days. The savage was forced to stop crime by fear. He was encouraged to do right by rewards. Punishment never converted a bad man into a good one. Punishment merely controls wickedness and crime through fear. We do not wish to instil fear into the minds of our children. We want to make them good. We can only do that by patiently showing them their mistakes. Surely it is better that a child obeys or stops mischief because he sees the wrong of it than that he obeys blindly through fear, not understanding why he is wrong, accepting the judgment of others, without using his brains.

If a hundredth part of the ill-treatment and oppression and injustice that children suffer, were experienced by any community, the most crude society would be in uproar and up in arms against them. But children are the voiceless weak of humanity. They cannot speak themselves, and there is none to speak for them. There is none to fight for them. Therefore they suffer, and have suffered, and [illegible] ages—and most probably, will suffer until parents [illegible] less ignorant, less brutal and more humane. The more educated a man is, the more he respects the rights of children. The more civilised a nation, the more they look after children and their rights and proper training.

Nations fight against nations for their rights. Millions of lives are freely sacrificed to stop the oppression of the weak; but the greatest tyranny kills lives unassailed in our midst. There are hundreds and thousands to prevent, energetically, cruelty to animals; but [illegible] none to fight for little children and prevent cruelty. [illegible] wonderful civilisation.

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Krishna: a study in the theory of Avataras.—II.

By BABU BHAGWAN DAS, M. A.

Krishna as Man of Emotion and Devotion-Inspirer.

As man of desire, of feeling, of arts, his life was equally full.

The Shastras say that the summum bonum of human life is dual; first, Abhyudaya, then Nishreyas; first the joys of the embodied life (inseparable from some degree of "sin"), and then the bliss of "salvation," the realization of the oneness of the individual with the Universal Spirit. The first is sub-divided into Dharma, Artha, Kama; that is to say, Kama or the joys of the sense-life must be refined by Artha or the riches of art, which riches must be gathered in accordance with Dharma or law and order.

The same Shastras mention the conditions of the fulfilment of each end thus:

अर्थस्य मूलं निकृतिः क्षमा च
कामस्य रूपं च वयो वपुश्च।
धर्मस्य योगादि दया दमश्च
मोक्षस्य सर्वोपरमः क्रियाध्यः॥

"The first requisites for the due fulfilment of the end of Kama or 'pleasure,' are strength, beauty and youth: for Artha or 'wealth,' non-arrogant patience and artful ways; for Dharma or 'duty' or 'law and order in liberty,' sacrifice, self-control, compassion for the weak; for Moksha or 'Salvation,' retirement from the world." Krishna's extraordinary beauty of face and figure and unique colour and complexion have been the theme of the singers of a hundred and fifty generations after him. That simple village-maidens or even [illegible]ious city-ladies should lose their hearts to him, that he sho[illegible] (as all compeers of his own sex with enthusiastic admiration and [illegible]ion—is not difficult to understand. But when Bhishma, be[illegible]g in to the generation of Krishna's grandfather, Bhishma, over a hun[illegible]d years of age at that time, stretched on his death-bed of arrows, waiting for the right moment to cast off his body by yoga—when he, seeing Krishna standing before him, can think of nothing else, for his first thought, than Krishna's physical beauty, then we may well believe that it must have been something overpowering. In his dying [illegible] to Krishna, as avatara of Narayana, Bhishma sings first of [illegible]l beauty "lovingly gazed on with tireless eyes by all the wo[illegible]culiar complexion, the splendid dress, the curling locks, a[illegible] of smile and laugh and

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speech and gesture and every movement that drove the women almost mad."

त्रिभुवनकमनं तमालवर्णं रविकरगौरवरांबरं दधाने ।
वपुरलककुलावृताननाब्जं विजयसखे रतिरस्तु मेऽनवद्या ॥
ललितगतिविलासवल्गुहासप्रणयनिरीक्षणकल्पितोरुमानाः ।
कृतमनुकृतवत्य उन्मदांधाः प्रकृतिमगन् किल यस्य गोपवध्वः ॥

It has been said that the body is the soul made visible. In the case of Krishna, this truth is verified amply by his marvellous æsthetic taste and mastery of the sixty-four fine and other arts. He began as a flute-player, fascinating the village maids and youths and the cattle and the animals of the jungle. He ended with giving lessons to Narada in the art of playing the vina. It may be noted, in passing, that Krishna's own "schooling" with the Acharya Sandipani, at Ujjain, is an object-lesson in the science of Education. He went there, many hundreds of miles away from his paternal home in Mathura, after he had come away from Vrindavana, and had slain the king Kamsa, his parents' and his own and the people's enemy, and he lived and studied with his teacher, like the other students in respect of the *hardy life*, gathering fuel from the woods for his teacher's household, and getting "lost" with his companions, for whole nights, in thunderstorms, and inspiring his companions, as usual, with life-long love, unlike them only in his memory, wonderful like all his other qualities retaining the most difficult teaching after but one hearing. To build up hardy body and determined mind, to acquire the habit and power of doing all one's work one self without dependence on dependents, to lay the foundation of lifelong friendship, to learn of and duly exercise both *rights and duties*, to gain admission into all the departments of science and art—that this is the purpose of Education is illustrated by Krishna's "schooling."

He reclaimed land from the ocean by a feat of engineering not detailed in the available books; built his great city of Dwaraka on it; filled the city with towere[illegible]pired buildings, and constructed a hall of audience whose walls [illegible]on, a[illegible]ere inlaid with scores of different kinds of gems and [illegible] listed in the *Hari-Vamsha*. This hall was named Sudharma a[illegible] outrivalled even Yudhishthira's marvellous palace at Indraprastha, built by the Asura (probably Atlantean-Mongolian) architect, Maya, also at Krishna's instance.

His skill in the breeding and training of horses was such that the names of his four favourites have come down to us: Shaibya, Sugriva, Megha-pushpa and Balahak[illegible] It seems that with the help of these he used to cover the distanc[illegible]en Delhi and Dwaraka in a week, a *saptaha*. Kathiawar h[illegible] even now famous for their going powers; and the *Brah*[illegible] mentions by name a famous mare, also of Krishna's time, bel[illegible] a relative of his.

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बड़वा हृदया नाम शतयोजनगामिनी ।

"The mare, Hridaya, which could go 800 miles continuously." Those who know of the long-distance riding feats, in the 'bush,' of Australian riders and their horses, will not feel sceptical.

He introduced new flowers like the *parijata* into the country, undertaking even a sharp little war for the purpose. His care and taste in dress is shown by the fact that he generally wore yellow silk, as his elder brother, Balarama, wore blue. In those days they knew and took care to select the colour that suited their complexions ; for the cult of physical masculine beauty—to say nothing of feminine, which was a matter of course—was fairly widespread in that day. Krishna's son Pradyumna and cousin Nakula were two other famously handsome men of the time, next only after Krishna ; and the *Mahabharata* describes many other men of grand physique.

He married eight wives, carefully selected and every one of them won by a great feat of strength or courage. While in sheer size of thews and sinews and strength of muscle, four men were noted beyond the common in his day, yet still such was the miracle of Krishna's vital vigour that even in this respect he was regarded as simply above and beyond comparison.

The Mahabharata says :—

सांप्रतं मानुषे लोके सदैत्यनरराक्षसे ।
चत्वारस्तु नरव्याघ्रबले शक्रोपमा भुवि ॥
उत्तमप्राणिनाम् तेषां नास्ति कश्चिद् बले समः ।
बलदेवश्च भीमश्च मद्रराजश्च वीर्यवान् ॥
चतुर्थः कीचकस्तेषां नास्ति पंचमं नानुशुश्रुम ।
अन्यान्यानंतरबलाः परस्परजयैषिणः ॥

"In the whole of the human world, including the Daitya (or Negro?), the Rakshasa (or Mongolian?) and the Aryan races, four men, Balarama, Bhima, Shalya and Kichaka are [illegible] strongest, in the respective order mentioned."

And in explanation of the last line, [illegible] the *Harivansha* verse which says that Balarama often defeated Bhima in wrestling.

येन नागायुतप्राणोसवृ द् भीमः पराजित : ।

In connection with Krishna's household life—and it was a most enormous household—a comparatively little known chapter of the *Mahabharata* (Shanti-Parva, ch. 81,) deserves attention, for its comic humour as well as its deep instructiveness. Says Krishna to Narada: "You are my very confidential friend, [illegible] very learned and wise and experienced as well. Therefore I will [illegible] myself to you about a very secret matter. This great fam[illegible]an of mine and my kinsfolk—they call me Lord, [illegible] but in reality I am a

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veritable slave to them in the mask of master. The only enjoyment allowed to me is to listen to their hard words.

दास्यमैश्वर्यवादेन ज्ञातीनां वै करोम्यहम् ।
अर्धं भोक्तास्मि भोगानां वाग्दुरुक्तानि च क्षमे ॥

"My elder brother can think of nothing else than his muscles; delicacy and fastidiousness are finished and exhausted in Gada; Pradymuna is enamoured of his own pretty face; and no one ever dreams of helping me in my endless cares and worries, Ahuka and Akrura are always quarrelling with each other; and between them; I feel like the mother of two gamblers who is always wishing that the one may win and the other not lose. I cannot do without them; and with them, life is not worth living. Can you help me ?" And Narada gives this very cheerful consolation : "There are two kinds of misfortunes, Krishna. One comes from without; and the other is created by one self. Your misfortunes are of your own creation! You ought to have taken the throne yourself after slaying the tyrant Kamsa. But, no, you must go and bestow it on Ugrasena, the doting old father of Kamsa. And now you cannot take it back gracefully, any more than a man can again eat the food he has thrown up. Your only resource now is to bear it all with patience and try to cut the tongue of invective with the soft knife that is not made of iron." "And pray what may that be ?" asked Krishna. Said Narada : "Soft words in return for hard, and gifts in return for thefts; that is the only way to deal with kinsmen. No one without a great soul, without perpetual self-sacrifice, without much patient wisdom, without trusty friends, may hold together such huge clans and nations and affairs as you have undertaken, and bring them all to successful issues and prosperities. But thou art laughing at one, my beloved Lord ! having successfully befooled the pupil into the attempt to teach his teacher and the teacher of the worlds, by precept and by example !"

There is much unnecessary controversy over Krishna's many wives and youthful loves. There is much attack and too much defence. The Bhagavata itself raises the question and answers it.

ईश्वराणां वचः सत्यं तथैवाचरितं क्वचित् ।
धर्मव्यतिक्रमो दृष्ट ईश्वराणां च साहसम् ॥
तेजीयसां न दोषाय वह्नेः सर्वभुजो यथा ।

And yet again,

ईश्वरैरपि भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म शुभाशुभं ।

In the *Taittiriya Upanishat*, the Acharya at the time of the Samavartana, (the University convocation and degree-conferring ceremony of that time), says to the pupil,

सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर । स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रमदः । आचार्याय प्रियं धनमाहृत्य प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सीः ।

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"The precepts of the great are generally sound, but not so their example! They too have their sins and have to suffer for them. Follow the good in their example, and not the bad."

And Krishna's life was by no means all roses. He had and made many enemies, and while he overcame most of them, he could not always have it his own way. His first-born infant son was carried away by a powerful ocean-pirate of the day, Shambara, from the very confinement-room of the mother, in the sea-town of Dwarka. And Shambara kept the child successfully away from the parents, in a secure island, fostering him as his own child because of his extraordinary beauty, till Pradyumna grew up and came to learn the truth of his parentage, and married secretly his captor-host's daughter and ran off with her on some sort of air-car (—mention of such air-cars is repeatedly made in the Puranas—) and arrived in Dwāraka by his own enterprise and valour. The fate of Krishna's kith and kin, and of his relatives and dependents, after his passing from the Earth, is also very unfortunate and very saddening. The end of Krishna's own body by the arrow of a fowler, who mistook a movement of his foot for that of an animal as he sat tranced in meditation, hidden amidst the shrubs near the sea-shore—after that awful mutual slaughter of kinsfolk, and himself withdrawing his pranas from his body—was in expiation of his hidden slaying of Bali in his previous incarnation as Rama—so say some of the Puranas.

A study of the heart-life of Krishna shows at once that it was exceedingly rich in emotion. As there are countless shades of colors, countless tones and overtures and kinds and degrees of voices and sounds, so there are countless shades of the love-emotion (and unfortunately, but inevitably, of the hate-emotion also). Every human relationship, husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, grandson, grand-daughter, every one of the countless kinds and degrees of kinsmen and rel[illegible] embodies a shade, vivid or mild, of such emotion. The life of Ra[illegible] with [illegible]iki lastingly depicts those of the more prominent relationships. But the life of Krishna, as depicted in the Puranic works and in the works of the later writers of the various schools of *bhaktas*, illustrates with extraordinary richness, very many more beautiful shades and grades of *bhakti*. Krishna's relations with his adoptive parents, his boy companions, the dairy-maids, his parents proper, his "college-friend" Sudama, with Vyasa, Narada, Arjuna, Bhishma, with Arjuna's brother, with his [illegible] Kunti, his friend's wife Draupadi, with Vidura, Uddhava, Ak[illegible] with his elder brother Balarama, with his different sons and dau[illegible]d grand-children, with his wives severally, Rukmini and Satya[illegible] among them—each one of these shades of the love-emotio[illegible]hed the theme of some

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of the most beautiful and heart-moving song and poetry, in Sanskrit as well as the more modern languages of India, and makes subject for interesting, instructive and elevating psychological study.

The Eugenic Value of Krishna-worship.

It is obvious that the Krishna-avatara was not immaculate like the Rama-avatara ; but at the same time there is clear indication in the *Bhagavata* that what are called Krishna's youthful loves did not go beyond violent flirtations and a taste for group-dancing and singing, like the waltzes and quadrilles and fandangos and maypoles of the west, and the *kajli* and *kolattam* of the northern and the southern India of to-day. One of his many names and epithets *viz.*, a-chyuta, signifies "the chaste," "the continent." And the *Bhagavata* (III, ii. 26) says that he lived in the home of his adoptive father, Nanda, tending his cows, romping with the maids, and battling with the wild animals, only till the eleventh year of his life, going off to Mathura afterwards and thence Dwaraka.

ततो नंदव्रजमितः पित्रा कंसाद्विबिभ्यता ।
एकादशसमास्तत्र गूढार्चिः सबलोऽवसत् ॥

If this be so, then his dancings and flirtings show nothing seriously wrong, but rather only a manifestation, even in early boyhood and youth, of another aspect of Krishna's richly artistic nature ; and in any case he was perfectly correct and proper after his marriage—though that, of course, was very manifold ; but that was in accordance with the then customs. Instead of vainly carping at his ways, and warping our own artistic faculties and potencies thereby, we ought to take from his exuberant and over flowing stores of all that is beautiful and joyous, as much as we can assimilate lawfully.

धर्माविरुद्धा भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ । *Gita*, VII, II.
बिभ्रद् वपुःसकल सुंदरसं[illegible]र्माचरन् भुवि सुमंगल माप्तकाम : ।
कृत्वा निमित्तमितरेतरत[illegible]न् हत्वा नृपान्निरहरत क्षितिभारमीश : ।

Bhagavata, XI. 1-2-10.

Truly, if sunsets and sunrises, if moon and star and bird and flower are worth looking upon, if we may without sin admire a beautiful horse, a magnificent tusker, a sleek and gentle milch-cow, why may we not admire far more beautiful human faces and figures ? But they ought to be admired *in the same spirit*, as works of nature's supreme art. For this purpose, pu[illegible]pinion has to be carefully educated. There is too much license [illegible]one hand and too much puritanism on the other. If the proper [illegible]d wise course were followed there would be [illegible] would be more human faces and

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figures *worth* admiring and looking at again and again. For in the biological and psychophysical world, as in the economic, supply follows demand, and a whole nation's appreciation of and craving for physical, mental and moral beauty, necessarily *creates* more and more of such beauty in each of its successive generations. The worship, by brides and mothers and husbands, of Krishna as baby, as boy, as youth, and as great man, charming, fascinating, piquant, saucy, mischievous, wilful, maddeningly beautiful, hero of heroes, teacher of teachers, grand in every respect, has its own most beneficent eugenic value for the nation, *if the worship be only duly intelligent*, guided by the just and the righteous, and not by knaves and hypocrites, as it is so largely to-day, to the shame and the sorrow of the nation.

Incidentally, our younger generation should make a careful study of the sizes and qualities of the physical bodies that the great men of history have worn. Few great men of action, and even of thought and of art, have been puny or sickly or ill-formed and feeble. They have generally carefully educated and strengthened their bodies at least as much as their minds. And to the youth of India, the example of Krishna and his compatriots is as a shining light. The students in the higher classes might, with much profit, also study something of the birth-conditions and the personal habits and private life of the prominent figures of history. Abnormal, *i. e.*, extraordinary persons or personages often have extraordinary birth-conditions; and these and their personal habits and conduct in dietary and sex-life throw a most valuable light on their achievements or failures. The *Purana-Itihasa* are more "scientific" in this respect than many modern books. In this reference, it may be mentioned, for the information of those who are inclined to see more vice than virtue in Krishna, that the private morals of such historical figures as Julius Cæsar and Alexander and Napoleon were incomparably worse; and even Aristotle sometimes [illegible] in his pupil. Alexander's revels. It is unnecessary to say [illegible] Going about the better-known weaknesses of Goethe, Byron, etc. But [illegible] such weaknesses, which no doubt had some effects on their work in life, we cannot but admire their great achievements. We ought to understand and recognise the strong points as well as the weak points, the good as well as the evil.

विद्वान् गुणदो दोषज्ञः। "The wise man is he who understands the virtues as well as the defects of things." Some ill-advised, narrow-thinking Christian missionaries especially, misconceiving their duty to their own great master, a true "Son of God," *i. e.*, [illegible] avatara in his own degree, think that they serve the Christ by sla[illegible]g Krishna. If they could come face to face with their master, [illegible] he would rebuke them greatly. The Christ cannot be exalted [illegible]elittlement of Krishna. Different manifestations of God, [illegible]nt purposes, have to be

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reverently studied from different points of view ; they cannot all be measured off off-hand by the same standard.

Krishna and Christ.

From other and more generous points of view, parallels have now and then been attempted between the lives of Krishna and Christ. But they are very far-fetched. If we take a few selected incidents from each life, similarities may no doubt be found, especially if we follow those who think that the Biblical Christ is not a historical person, and that Jesus was born 105 B. C. or so, and that Krishna is also a myth ; the selected incidents being similar because they allegorise the same spiritual truths. But then, for the purposes of metaphysical science, the birth, growth, struggles, decay, death, of a little plant, a worm, a man, a god, all equally allegorise the one truth of all truths, *viz.*, the periodic descent of Spirit into Matter and Its re-ascent thereout. Apart from this, and regarded as historical, the two lives are different as different can be. There is very little indeed in common between the gentle ministry of Christ, extending only over three years out of the thirty-three years of his life, and the tremendous all-comprehending activity of Krishna, throughout a very long life of the fullest and intensest kind. The one was essentially a soul-refining force ; the other was that *and* an immediate history-maker on a very large scale and a philosophical and artistic teacher of the highest order besides. Both taught, but the teaching was directed to different purposes. The former taught, "Turn the right check"; the latter, "Therefore fight." And yet the two teachings are entirely in accord. For the former means "When the wrong is done to yourself"; and the latter "When the wrong is done to another who depends on you for protection."

The Rationale of Ideals.

More might be said of the devotion inspired by Krishna. But for that, it is better to go to the great classical works direct, to the songs, hymns, and poems in Hindi, Bangla, Marathi, Gujerati and other living languages of India, and to the *Bhagvata* more than any other work. Like all other men of action, and more than they in the degree of his greatness, Krishna inspired violent dislikes as well as likes. But the all-charitable, all-helping, ancient Science of the Spirit says that those who hated Krishna were as much helped in their soul-development as those who loved him. This seems to be a mystic mystery. And it is to be explained only by superphysical science, which tells us that, just as in the physical world, patriarchs and their families, chiefs and their clans and tribes, elders and their communities and nations stand in special relations of loyalty and protectiveness towards each other, even so especially [illegible]ced souls, Ishwaras, stand in special relations of devotion and [illegible]ness along the path of psycho-physical evolution with large [illegible]. Yet it is also plain pyschology.

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Narada says to Yudhishthira that when the object is truly great it does not matter whether the bond with which you tie your soul to it is the bond of some form of the hate-emotion or some form of the love-emotion. The result will be good for you either way. It is enough that you *tie* yourself strongly to this great soul. But make sure that he is truly great and not a hollow pretender. He will do the rest. Of course, you will have more pain along the one way than along the other. But dragged you will be, any way, to the right goal.

गोप्यः कामाद् भयात्कंसो द्वेषाच्चैद्यादयो नृपाः ।
संबंधाद् वृष्णयो यूयं स्नेहाद् भक्त्या वयं विभो ॥

"By woman-love, by fear, by hatred; by kinsmanship, by deep friendship, by whole hearted devotion—have different souls thought of him, and so found him."

In this way has Krishna received a devoted worship which flourishes five thousand years after his passing, with an intensity unsurpassed or even unmatched in any time and clime.

Of course the deepest reason of such denouement is in the *soul of the votary himself*—the soul which makes the ideal objects of its clinging a means for its own psychical exercise and strengthening.

यत्र यत्र मनो देही धारयेत् सकलंधिया ।
स्नेहाद् द्वेषाद् भयाद् वापि याति तत्तत्स्वरुपताम ॥

Bhagavata.

चित्तमे हि संसारस्तत्प्रयत्नेन शोधयेत् ।
यच्चित्तस्तन्मयो भवति गुह्यमेतत्सनातनम् ॥

Maitrayani Upanishat.

अद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषः यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एवसः ।

Gita.

All which means, in other words,

"Whatsoe'er thou lovest, that become thou must,
God if thou love God, dust if thou love dust,"

For the *mind* verily is the creator of, and indeed *is*, the world.

KRISHNA AS MAN OF KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHER.

Finally, we may see Krishna as one of the greatest of teachers.

While his beauty of form remains only as a tradition, and, alas! there is no authentic portrait even available, either on canvas or in stone or metal, to show us concretely what that marvel was like; while his deeds remain only in results long overlaid by other events; the wisdom of his teachings remains to us in a direct form. Even in his boyhood and youth he was a zealous reformer of religion; he battled bravely against the prevalent excessive and senseless or (as perversely misinterpreted then even) positively corrupting Vedic [illegible] alism and ritualism, and warred upon vested priestly or priest-cra[illegible]rests and pretensions; and he successfully abolished the Indr[illegible]ations and

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potations, and established, instead, the more rational cult of the cow, so eminently suited to an agricultural civilization. This open condemnation of hypocritical, cunning, selfish, and senseless or perverse and depraved sacredotal formalism, and of the endeavour to hypnotize the people with the mere outer word of the Veda, is briefly but strongly repeated by him, in his later teaching of the *Gita* also. Beyond and above all his other great works, stands his work as the teacher of the *Gita*, wherein he concentrated, with the electrical focussing of war-conditions, the quintessence of the deepest, the most ancient and the most practical and real ethics and philosophy, into a few hundred verses, for the enlightenment of the sorely perplexed understanding of Arjuna and of hundreds of subsequent generations. The *Mahabharata* incorporates another utterance of Krishna—also in the shape of teaching given to his dearest friend Arjuna—and known as the *Anugita*. But this work is not much studied, although it seems to be almost indispensable for the right understanding of the *Gita*. It is expressly a re-utterance of and a supplement to the earlier work.

The whole and sole teaching of the *Gita* is the very pragmatic one: Do your duty, after having carefully ascertained it in the light of Atma-vidya—the all-co-ordinating science; and then do it fearless of consequences. As basis for this final teaching of ethics, we have the doctrine of लोकसंग्रह, in the setting of which लोकसंग्रह duties arise.

DUTY, ORGANIZATION, SYNTHESIS.

Loka-sangraha means world-synthesis, the Organization of the Human Race, the assignment of each individual to his proper place, the division of labour, of remuneration, of means of livelihood, and of rewards and prizes, in accordance with the natural division of temperaments and functions.

लोकसंग्रहमेवापि संपश्यन् कर्त्तुमर्हसि ॥
कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथाऽसक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥

"The wise man should act so that he may promote social organisation and not violate its principles."

When this लोकसंग्रह, social organization, is just and natural, then every one knows his duty clearly, and finds no difficulty in performing it. It is the business of the great man, the leader, the ruler, the man in power and authority, to secure this rational social organization first of all. Then all good things else will add themselves.

Not exclusiveness but synthesis is the keynote of the whole of the best Sanatana Dharma Culture—whatever the character of its present degenerate form may be. Gi[illegible] everything, every idea, every custom, every person, its or his or h[illegible] [illegible]per time and place and circumstance, and you develope the best t[illegible] [illegible]re is in it or him or her.

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The four psycho-physical types of men, the man of thought, the man of action, the man of desire, the undifferentiated and unskilled worker; the four kinds of special rewards, honour, power, wealth and play; the four kinds of livelihood; the four corresponding vocational classes in each complete community; the four main interests of life; the four corresponding stages in each life-time—these are the main features of the synthesis which had been disturbed by the excessive preponderance of the militarist elements in his day, and which Krishna sought to restore. This is not the place to expound them in detail. Yet, as further illustrations of the synthetic nature of Sanatana Dharma, we may note such facts as its recognition of eight kinds of marriages, twelve kinds of sons, four kinds of funerals—each with its proper circumstance. Even in the matter of such an apparently slight but really important affair as salutation, we find many forms illustrated by Krishna. When he returns from Delhi to Dwaraka, he greets his various kinsfolk, elders, equals, youngers, dependents, in various ways.

प्रह्वाभिवादनाश्लेषकरस्पर्शस्मितेक्षणैः ।

On another occasion,

ततोवतीर्य गोविंदो रथात्स च युधिष्ठिरः ।
भीमो गांडीवधन्वा च यमौ सात्यकिरेव च ।
ऋषीनभ्यर्च्चयामासुः करानुद्यम्य दक्षिणान् ॥

"By low obeisance, by spoken salutation, (svāgatam, 'welcome', su-prabhātam, 'good morning', etc.,) by embrace, by handshake, by smile, by glance, by lifting the right hand, etc."

Such are instances of लोकसंग्रह, which Krishna teaches by precept and by example.

RAJA-DHARMA.

One great teaching which Krishna gave, not directly himself, but by the mouth of Bhishma, is, unfortunately, too much neglected in India nowadays. At the beginning of the Mahabharata war comes the *Gita* which nerves Arjuna for the struggle. At its end appropriately comes the teaching of Bhishma to Yudhishthira, given and received by Krishna's express wish, on the all-important subject of the true science of politics, दंडनीति, राजधर्म, spiritualized by Atma-vidya—by means of which alone can the work of the reconstruction of a people shattered by a terrible internecine war be successfully carried out, and Krishna's work as an *avatara* be completed. By means of a spiritualized policy only can a just and righteous great man, leader and ruler, make Satya-yuga out of Kali-yuga.

दंडनीत्यां यदा राजा सम्यक् कार्त[illegible] वर्त्तते ।
तदा कृतयुगं नाम कालः श्रेष्ठः प्रव[illegible]

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दंडनीतिः स्वधर्मेषु चातुर्वर्ण्यं नियच्छति ।
लोकस्य सीमंतकरी मर्यादा लोकपावनी ।
सम्यङ्नीता दंडनीतिर्यथा माता यथो पिता ।
मज्जेत् त्रयी दंडनीतौ हतायां सर्वे धर्माः प्रक्षयेयुर्विरुद्धाः ।
सर्वे धर्माश्चाश्रमाणां हताः स्युःक्षात्रे नष्टे राजधर्मे पुराणे ॥
सर्वे धर्मा राजधर्मेषु दृष्टाः सर्वा दीक्षा राजधर्मेषु चोक्ताः ।
सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः सर्वे लोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः ॥

"When the ruling element conducts the affairs of the people in accordance with a just and sound and far-sighted and *all-comprehensive* (and not patchwork, haphazard and opportunist) policy—then society is properly organized with its four vocational classes duly articulated together and each observing its duties in accordance with law and order. Such High Science of Policy, well and righteously administered, is even as father and as mother unto the people. All sciences subserve it; all laws and all high secrets are to be found in it; all the well-being of all humanity depends upon it. If it fail and fall from just and righteous wisdom, all social order would sink into confusion, and all science and all art would disappear into chaos."

Such is the teaching of Krishna given by himself directly or by the mouth of Bhishma who, too, was in his way a superman, and next only to Krishna. If any statesmen of to-day, when conditions are so very similar to those of Krishna's day, really want a stable reconstruction and organization of society, they would not altogether waste their time if they consulted those teachings of Raja-Dharma for ideas and principles, instead of spending all their time in making economical and political experiments which take no account of human psychology or Atma-vidya and lead only to vicious circles and farcical and tragical failures. But if the life of Krishna is duly studied and the principles followed, then may much success in achieving human happiness be attained.

The story of Krishna is truly as instructive as it is sweet.

जनोऽबुधोऽयं निजकर्मबंधनः सुखेच्छया कर्म समीहतेऽसुखम् ।
यत्सेवया तां विधुनोत्यसन्मतिं धियं सनोऽव्यात् परमो गुरोर्गुरुः ।
भवद्गुणानुस्मरणाद् ऋते सतां निमित्तमन्यद् भगवन्न विद्यते ।
पिता चरेद् बालहितं यथा स्वयं तथा त्वमेवार्हसि नः समीहितुम् ।
यशस्विनो दानपरास्तपस्विनो मनस्विनो मंत्रदृशस्सुमंगलाः ।
क्षेमं न विंदंति विना यदर्हणं तस्मै सुभद्रश्रवसे नमो नमः ।
यद्वंदनं यत्स्मरणं यदर्हणं यत्कीर्त्तनं यच्छ्रवणं यदीक्षणं ।
जनस्य सद्यो विधुनोति कल्मषं तस्मै सुभद्रश्रवसे नमो नमः ।
यदं तु विवृण्याम उत्तम श्लोक विक्रमे ।
यच्छ्रवण तां रसज्ञानो स्वादु स्वादु पदे पदे ।
चरित पुनीत सुनत हरि के नित नित चित तसि न जोहै ।
पद पद में जाके निसरत रस रसिकन के मन मोहै ।
जेइ दास भगवान कहैं यह जेइ दास भगवान सुनैं ।
तेइ चीन्हि भगवान गुन निर्गुन सगुन अभेद गुनैं ॥

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Sir M. Visvesvaraya and after in Mysore

By Kanya-Kumari.

INTRODUCTORY.

"I want the 'why' of everything and I am content to leave the 'how' to the children," declares the modern materialistic Scientist. In a like strain, but without the concomitant bombast, spoke the ancient, spiritualistic Hindu. The European in quest of a solution shot out into the external world and the Aryan with a similar object shot into the internal world. The theories propounded and the discoveries made by the one in the realm of matter are grand, and the principles preached and realized by the other in the realm of the Spirit, are infinitely grander. We do not propose to consider in this article how perfection, wherein consists the all-highest beatitude, has already been reached in the Vedanta and how, with the same end in view, a circuitous path is taken in Modern Science. The Aryan with the aid of simplicity attained the goal; the European with the aid of complexity has missed the mark. We admire the European for his persistent and insistent efforts that know no defeat, that brook no impediment. We adore the Aryan for his choice. He grasped with the aid of intuition the nectar and religiously avoided the poison. But we hope that before long Modern Science and Ancient Vedanta will join and shake hands.

THE REASON 'WHY.'

To-day we shall discuss only the outlines of a wonderfully weird phenomenon that has occurred within the past year in the Administration of Mysore. We have been told by men—'why do you make much of a statesman who throve yesterday but to-day practically is no longer with us? It is not paying to wax eloquent over a *fallen* statesman. Furthermore, you will be inviting a certain amount of odium against you!' We are not forgetting the psychology of these gentlemen, who are dinning into our ears such sage advice. These are men of expediency, who have no nerve about them, who take things lying down and in a cowardly fashion. These gentlemen are very clever at adjusting themselves to the ever-changing environments. We have thanked them enough, but we have wished that there were fewer of that brood in this hapless land.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya has had no smooth sailing during the last two years of his Administration. Destructive forces had for long operated in a direction prejudicial to the [illegible]inuity of his *regime*. The disruptive factors proved in the long [illegible] more than a match even for the resourceful individuality of [illegible]. Briefly, the

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factors were four in number—interference of the invisible sentinel, premature ambition of an amateurist outlander, passion of a dignitary for dominating administration and non-exercise of the Royal Prerogative. These factors are sufficiently self-explanatory. The amateurist in whom the passion to advertise energy was stronger than the non-existent love of country, took advantage of the Anti-Visvesvaraya clique that did not take long to be formed. The dignitary's mind that was a *tabula rasa* soon allowed itself to be fed up by the doctrines of the clique. The ever-wakeful sentinel was early in the field to make capital of the clique. It was no longer an equal fight. Single-handed, how long could patriotism fight against a world of opposition? The Royal Prerogative was *de facto non est*. If it ever existed, it was but to coalesce with the opposition. This in a nut-shell is the *rationale* of Mysore's foremost Dewan's resignation. In a word, chicanery, poltroonery, machiavelianism and bacchanalianism fought out patriotism and puritanism.

AFTER.

Soon after Sir Visvesvaraya's retirement, war was waged against his administration. A vigorous offensive was kept up for some months. The offensive was calculated to sing paeans of praise in honour of the new administration and to shower anathema on the whilom administration. It had its genesis in very powerful quarters. But they could not attack Sir Visvesvaraya on the score of character, for the purity of his personality was an exemplary trait. The sincerity of his intention and the integrity of his action were not open to doubt. This was the reason why the blows were delivered again his Financial Policy. The "The Madras Mail," the "Madras Times," the "Daily Post," came out with leader after leader in condemnation of Sir Visvesvaraya's financial policy. The attacks of the "Vokkaligara Patrika" and the "Vrittanta Patrika" ought to be beneath notice. Inspired articles were printed in the columns of these 'Dailies' and 'Weeklies'. The condemnation was wholesale, in which certain celebrities (it must be pricking their conscience as they read this) who owe their present position to Sir Visvesvaraya, took a leading part. The "Karnataka" also came out with its criticism. But this criticism was conceived with all genuineness. Belonging as it does to a different school of economists, it could not find its way to fall in with Sir Visvesvaraya's financial policy. Quite naturally, our local administrative geniuses, who ever counted in hundreds and thousands, were taken aback, when the huge moneys locked up by the previous administrations were released and invested on diverse concerns. These pseudo-economists and arm-chair critics, with neither ventu[illegible]nor genius for such gigantic handling, viewed Sir Visvesvaraya's [illegible]y with grave misgivings. When some of the schemes touched the [illegible]kets of the outlandish exploiters they roared protestations. A Hindi [illegible]d to Mr. Hariswar's local celebri-

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ties scoffed at the policy. But the mighty statesman went on his way, without giving a moment's concern for the childish prattle. But nothing will tell so well as actual figures. We shall give below certain statistical information, culled from the "Financial Review and Forecast" published by the Government of Mysore. Sir Visvesvaraya entered Mysore Service on 15th November, 1909, as Chief Engineer and Secretary, Public Works and Railways. He rose to the Dewanship on 10th November, 1912, and retired from service on 9th June, 1919. Thus virtually for the decennium beginning with 1908-09 for which the "Review" is prepared, Sir Visvesvaraya was responsible for the administration. For, it will be admitted that during Mr. T. Ananda Rao's three years' tenure of Dewanship the few Irrigation and Railway works commenced were exclusively at the instance of Sir Visvesvaraya. The opposition that was in those years levelled against the Kannambadi Scheme must be still green in the memory of the Mysore Public But for Sir Visvesvaraya's unflinching resolution, Kannambadi would to this day have been no better than a paper-project.

I—Assets and Liabilities.

Periods.	Assets.	Liabilities.
(*a*) During Sir Visvesvaraya's Decennium.	Rs. 1,194 lakhs.	Rs. 560 lakhs.
(*b*) During the Pre-Visvesavaraya Period.	„ 672 „	„ 335 „
Excess of Assets over Liabilities ...	„ 634 „	„ 337 „

II—Productive Works.

Periods.	Total Expenditure.	Revenue.
(*a*) During Sir Visvesvaraya's Decennium.	Rs. 354 lakhs.	Rs. 30 lakhs.
(*b*) During the Pre-Visvesvaraya Period	„ 339 „	„ „ „

"Total expenditure on Productive Works during the decennium was 354 lakhs. Much of this expenditure has already begun to pay, as the increase in the Revenue from Productive Works shows and the rest will bring in its return in due course." (Extract from the Financial Review and Forecast.)

III—Revenue and Expenditure.

(*a*) Growth of Revenue during Sir Visvesvaraya's decennium was Rs. 95 lakhs. To this the principal heads of revenue contributed a little over 58 lakhs and the productive works nearly 30 lakhs.

(*b*) Growth of expenditure during the decennium was 119 lakhs. Of this, making allowance for 45 lakhs added to Departmental Balances and Revenues in 1917-18, the increase in expenditure has been less than the growth of Revenue. (In other words, the actual expenditure was 74 lakhs.)

(*c*) Excess of Revenue over Expend[illegible] =Rs. 95—74 or 21 lakhs (during the decade there was an extraord[illegible] expenditure of 74 lakhs on account of War).

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A glance at the above figures will convince the meanest understanding that Sir Visvesvaraya's financial policy was in every way a commendable one. True, critics shouted that he risked the reserves. But figures are proving the other way. They have testified to the financial genius of Sir Visvesvaraya. Criticisms have been levelled against his administration that "in the feverish haste to create a Canada out of Mysore, schemes, many of doubtful value and utility, have been launched forth," and so on. Why all this? Paragraphs 45 and 46 of the Sirdar-Dewan's address to the last Session of the Representative Assembly are replete with sinister innuendo against Sir Visvesvaraya's Administration. Now, he must be a bold man who can lay his finger on a scheme that is "of doubtful value and utility." Which of Sir Visvesvaraya's schemes have failed? Have Railways failed? Has the University failed? Has Kaunambadi failed? Have the Sandal oil and Soap Factories failed? Have the Irrigation Works failed? Can the Iron Mine be said to fail? Is the Economic Conference, the *crowning glory* of Sir Visvesvaraya's Administration, a failure?

Conclusion.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya was never tired of impressing upon the minds of his critics that "a Government forfeits its claim to be called *national*, unless it has a *public debt*" and that "the greater the spending capacity of a Government, the more progressive its character will be." There is a world of meaning in these pregnant utterances.

The national debt should certainly be well within the redeeming capacity of the Government. Borrowing should not be indulged in for the mere love of it. It should be for no other purpose than that of developing the potential wealth of the country. The wealth hidden in its mines, in its rivers, waterfall and in its forests, must be sought out and harnessed. To this end if the Revenues of a country do not suffice, then borrowing should be resorted to.

Above all, the greatest wealth of a country are its men and women. To give them a good system of training, not only on the literary and sociological side, but also on the technical and scientific side so that they can hold their own in the great world-race for commercial supremacy, Sir Visvesvaraya called into being two potent institutions—we mean the Mysore University and the Mysore Economic Conference.

He believed in bringing to the country an economic plenitude and material self-sufficiency. He believed in improving the administration and in popularising and liberalising it. In replying to the address presented to him in the Lalbagh Gardens on his elevation to the Dewanship, Sir Visvesvaraya said "*a Government cannot be much in advance of the capacity of the people. It will be what the people help to make it.*" In recruiting men to the Civil Service and in providing Political and Civic institutions, he did not make distinctions between communities. Efficiency was his watchword. And he threw broad-cast self-governing institutions without distinction of creed or race or colour.

Whatever may be said to the credit of the present Administration, it is impossible to exonerate it of the charge of a partisan character. It requires a grotesque degree of self-stultification to say that the administration is free from sectarian bias. "*Down with the privileged, forward, progressive Brahmin,*" are roaring Messrs. Reddy, Basava Iya, Kalami & Co. The Government have [illegible] "*amen.*"

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Two-God-Intoxicated Immortals.

BY Mr. PHIROZ P. KHANDALAWALA.

THE year 1649 is memorable in the annals of English history for two reasons. It witnessed the execution of King Charles I of unhappy memory and it was the harbinger of a new era, a new form of Government known as the Commonwealth or the Protectorate.

Whether the decapitation of the hapless and headstrong monarch by a freedom-loving nation was an act of wisdom or an egregious blunder does not fall within the purview of this essay, either to defend or to denounce, but the final verdict of it may well be left for the historian and the statesman to pronounce. England was just then passing through a critical phase of her history and two mighty men arose who—the one by the power of his sword, the other by the mastery of his pen—were able to save her at this juncture. The names of Oliver Cromwell, the soldier-statesman and the majestic Milton, the "God-gifted organ voice of England," the singer of things invisible to mortal sight, resounded through all Europe, for they alone were the mainstay of their country's glory and able to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm. Their lives and labours are inextricably intertwined and a review of them would prove of interest. Who has not heard of Milton? From the beardless boy to hoary frost of age let us go over the successive phases of his life. First, then, we see him a student in his teens burning the midnight oil and conning over the classical authors of antiquity. He next appears at Cambridge and is nicknamed the Lady of Christs because of his physical charm and moral grandeur. Having left Cambridge a full-fledged graduate, he "scorns delights and lives laborious days" at his paternal home. Then follow his continental tour and hurried return to England which was passing through troublous times and sore needed a man to weather the storm. Who does not know how unmercifully he lashed the learned Salmasius, his formidable opponent and gave him his quietus? It was about this time, too, that he plunged headlong in his career of brilliant pamphleteer and patriotic writer in his country's cause. He was made Latin Secretary to Cromwell and their lives ... Prior to this period he

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had contracted an ill-assorted union and his wife deserted him. How picturesque and pathetic is the scene of reconciliation. On bended knees and with tears in her eyes Eve implores forgiveness. Her attitude in Adam wrought commiseration and they were lovers again. The dream of his life to leave behind him some memorial of his genius which the English nation will not willingly let die was near to being fulfilled. Blind, proud with a consciousness of his soaring talents, austere, dignified, almost regal in appearance, his face sicklied over with the pale cast of thought, he began composing his immortal epic singing of themes sublime such as God and the Archangel, Sin and Satan, Man's Temptation and Fall. Truly he too was a seraph like one of his own creations. Gabriel or Michael call him what we will. The life of action and the life of contemplation were blended in this sublime soul, so serene in semblance, so pure in morals, so lofty in ideas, so upright though somewhat harsh, in the affairs of life. Now, let us turn to the protector, a man of a far different mould, the saviour of his country and—the defects of his character notwithstanding—a man of transcendent ability. His life is characteristic of the man. The English ship of state was buffeted about by the rage of turbulent human passions, fanned into a conflagration by the stubborn resistance of demagogues like Pym and Hampden to the unjust demands of an arbitrary sovereign inflated with the perverted notion of the Right Divine of kings to govern wrong, and Nature just at the crucial period raised up a helmsman with a soldier's heart, a statesman's insight and a hero's courage to steer her clear through the ruffled waters. For long the strife between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians waged dubious. Eventually Cromwell's Ironsides were more than a match for the Royalists.

"Thrice is he armed from head to heel,
That hath his quarrels just."

Right was slowly but surely prevailing over might. The Royal cause waned, tottered, fell. The king was made a prisoner, tried, condemned and executed. A mournful chapter indeed. Gone is reverence for the sceptre and the diadem. The Commonwealth was declared and this rugged soldier, this formidable fighter for the rights of the commonalty was proclaimed Protector. He was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the king's downfall. His was the clamorous voice, his the

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fell hand that wrought the monarch's ruin. One great blemish this which tarnished the lustre of a great name encircled in glory. Far and wide through Europe rang his name respected and revered by potentates. We have said enough of him as a citizen; let us turn to him as a man. Beneath his rough and uncouth exterior, like that of Dr. Johnson, was the kindly human heart of the father and husband. His was an intensely spiritual nature. All his utterances after his victorious battles and crowning career offer glory to God in the Highest. They breathe a fervent air of piety and reveal to us that like Joan of Arc he was inspired from on High. What verdict have history and posterity passed on him? A great historian and eminent man of letters like Carlyle and John Morley, a name to conjure with in the realm of politics and letters, both eulogize him highly and are loud in his panegyric. Though not a universal genius like the Dictator of Europe and the victor of Austerlitz, he was a great man and England needs to be proud of him as of Nelson and Wellington. He reminds us of the ancient Roman generals who left their native simplicity and homely hearths and mingled in the fray of politics and the clash of arms when the honor of their country was at stake. So we now take leave of these two great souls—Cromwell of the strong hand and heart and massive practical wisdom and Milton, the English Homer or more befittingly, Dante, the "mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies, and a name to resound for ages" a name so dear to the student and the sage that like his monumental epic we would not willingly let it die even though aeons on aeons may roll away.

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The Agha Khan on India In Transition.

By "POLITICUS."

HIS Highness the Agha Khan Wrote his book—*India in Transition* under remarkable circumstances. When an all Indian constructive political thought was suspended, awaiting the publication of proposals for Reforms, from the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, when there was a temporary calm that precedes a storm in the political atmosphere here, His Highness the Aga Khan was busy constructing his own scheme for Indian reforms in a quiet corner of unquiet Europe. Instead of reserving his breath for the criticism of the Reforms, till after they were published, the author thought it better to have his say about his view of the problem or problems in India. Whatever else it is, it is undoubtedly an uncompromising, definite and constructive statement of his scheme for India and as such is a valuable addition to the already growing Indian political literature.

The adequacy or the inadequacy of the methods suggested apart, India, tha H. H. the Aga Khan shows will result out of them in the end, is an enchanting picture. After reading that, our only regret has been that we were not born a hundred or even fifty years later. A federated India of independent states with a royal Viceroy, with Indians as Governors, with Indianised and reformed Civil, Judiciary, Police, Military and other services, with a rich and thriving colony in Africa, with adequate land and sea defence, with its industries developed up to their greatest possibility, with scientific and bountiful agriculture, with every soul educated and healthy, with the depressed classes and the women raised to their proper and just places in society and an India with an honourable position among the nations of the world, in fact, an India completely at peace with itself and with all the world would appeal to Diogenes himself, had he been an Indian instead of a Greek. We have omitted a few details in the picture, as they would have introduced disharmony into it. But even with these introduced, we do not believe, the changes sketched out will bring about anything better than a remote and faded resemblance of the vision that His Highness puts before us. Indeed, a miracle must happen to aid the scheme of the author for the realisation of this end or in our opinion, the changes in the present machinery will have to be of a more comprehensive and radical nature and the sacrifices both on the part of Indians and Englishmen of to-day and of the future will have to be far greater for any approximate approach to that ideal.

"'India In Transition' and After" would be a federated India. It would be a federation, a compact and organic whole of British India of to-day, redistributed into a number of independent states on racial and linguistic basis and the Native states. It would also form part of a wider federation, 'the South Asiatic Federation of to-morrow.' This would include Mesopotamia, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and India, with the last as the centre and the pivot of the federation. Though in complete accord with the author about the India federation as the only possible and convenient basis for any scheme of self-Government for a country of India's dimensions, we cannot see eye to eye with him about the wider federation both as to the possibility of its formation and if formed as to the good its

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supposed to bring about. The author proposes a whole series of arguments to support this crowning apech of his constructive effort. But there is a greater and more formidable series of arguments why it should not be sought. Germany or even a Turkey influenced by Germany is now no longer a menace to the peace of Central and Southern Asia, as the author had once reason to suppose that they might be. Instead of being an effective check to any future intentions of aggressive but now friendly Japan and week China, it would only provoke them to a suspicion and also precipitate their unfriendly intentions, if any lurk behind the veil.

Except to the Mahomedans in India, it would cause little satisfaction, even if no dissatisfaction to the Indian people. Community of interests, close proximity, common sentiments, a long and common past that both the races can look back to, identical political aspirations, time and a thousand other things have established a feeling of brotherhood between the Hindoo and Mahomedans in India. No such feeling exists at present amongst the former towards the Mahomedans of the other countries that are proposed to form the federation. A scheme to involve India into any intimate and binding relation with half a dozen of Mahomedan nations, will not only be gratitons but very likely an unwelcome proposition to the average Indian. He has the greatest regard for the Indian Mohamedan but that is not so elastic as to be extended to other Mahomedans, though he may have some sympathy with them and no feeling of hostility. But an absence of hostile feeling will be too negative and too evanescent a basis for any lasting and beneficient federation of nations. This need not be construed as any narrow mindedness on our part but as only a statement of facts. H. H. the Aga Khan's word might be accepted implicitly when he says that these nations would welcome the proposed relation. He ought to know it best. But even the comparatively unburdened Government of India after the independent provincial states are established, will have too much to attend to, to be able to devote any time and energy for the proper management of the external affairs of such a big imperial organisation. The ministry for foreign affairs will be too unweildy and too complicated even if a man of the highest genius be invited to precide over it.

One more reason for dropping the idea of the South Asiatic Federation and we would leave it alone, because it is after all of 'to-morrow' and not for to-day. As an immediate effect of the victory of Britain over the enemies, the sentiments of Imperialism might be revived and even made too much of by certain politicians. But the revival would be only temporary. The average Britisher, whatever he might have thought and believed in before the war would not as soon as he comes out of the present exhiliarating atmosphere and settles down to a final view and philosophy of life and politics, put any trust in the jingo imperialism of yesterday. By the time he is sober, the lessons of the World War would be apprehended more and he would see where the boasted imperialism of Great Britain has been an actual weakness to it. Whatever might have been repeatedly told about the splendid assistance of the colonies and the dependencies of Great Britain, they have indirectly proved a great weak spot in the side of the United Kingdom. The Greater Britain increased the responsibility and work for Great Britain and handicapped it in a thousand ways. That view perhaps does not prevail at present. It would not prevail probably, so long as the present Government remains in power. But no ministry is immortal, not even a coalition. Lower or later, the popular English political opinion would outgrow

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Imperialism. Besides, even in the near future, it would have too much to think about and do for itself, to give much thought even to the present Empire. For ought we know, it must absolutely decline to hear of any proposal involving itself into any further foreign responsibility.

We really believe that forces other than his characteristic keen intellect, clear vision and an almost realistic adhesion to facts, must have been at work, in the background of the author's mind, when first this idea of the South Asiatic Federation took definite shape and size. We are all the more convinced of it when we notice the almost melodramatic way, if not in language at least in spirit, in which he talks about the necessity of maintaining the complete independence of Persia and Afghanistan and also to a certain extent of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Whenever he mentions this, he is at once carried off his feet and forgets all about the logical thread of his writing and about what the logicians call the 'universe of discourse.' It is a far cry from the India of to-day to the federated and prosperous India that the author suggests. But it is almost an inaudible cry from the former to the South Asiatic Federation even while it comes out from a few forms of print priced at fifteen rupees.

* * * *

The author is opposed to the "subdivision of the existing provinces into a considerable number of self-governing States. They would unduly narrow down national effort." The unit of provincial self-government must be equal at least to a medium European State. There must however be redistribution and regrouping on a national and linguistic basis. Each State will have a Governor appointed by the King-Emperor to represent him and he will hold all official executive responsibility. He will be almost independent or at any rate far less trammelled by the central authority in India. Indians must be included within the field of selection of Governors. "The innovation should be made by inviting one of the ruling princes.....for the direction of a provincial administration." Later on other Indian gentlemen of outstanding merits and ability might be appointed as Governors. "The Governor should appoint ministers to the various departments of State.....and his choice should be unhampered.....However the Legislature might possess the right of removing by a three-fourths majority, an unsuitable or incompetent man at the head of a department. Apart from this minor and negative degree of Legislative Control, each minister should be entirely responsible to the Crown through the Governor..... ...An adverse vote would only lead to the dropping of the measure in hand." The author insists upon the complete freedom of the Executive from Legislative Control.

The Provincial Legislative Councils must be very much enlarged and each of the various religions and races must have a fair share in the assembly directly elected. "The franchise might be based on various grounds—a small income or land tax assessment, public service.....education and other tests." The Governor will nominate a few representatives from the backward communities who could not at present be represented for want of men with educational or other qualifications. Election based on communal basis alone, in the opinion of the author, will meet the complete needs of India.

"A single Chamber Government is to be deprecated, and I strongly advocate the establishment in each province of a Senate or Upper House, of, say, forty or fifty members. Here again for the present, nomination would be exercised in

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some instances, while in other cases important bodies or interests, such as the greater municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, Universities and landlords' associations would send representatives.....The two Houses, in case of difference of opinion, would vote together as a united assembly and the point at issue would be divided by a majority.....The power of the two Houses over Legislation and Provincial Finance should be subject only to the veto of the Governor."

The Central Government will not interfere with the management of internal affairs of these provincial states. Everyone of them would deal with the problems of education, sanitation, public works, commerce and industry, in their own way according to their local needs and available means. In the Civil Police, Judiciary and other services, the author suggests many changes. The most remarkable of them perhaps is to "bring district administration into closer touch with the people by non-official dilution.....From among the ordinary citizens of India it would be possible to select many excellent district collectors for a term of years." This remedy is suggested to "meet the complaints of rigidity, aloofness and over professionalism." It is doubtful if the change would have the desired effect. On the other hand it might, perhaps, tend to make the administration of these collectors inefficient or to make them mere puppets in the hands of their assistants and clerks. The only remedy for rigidity, aloofness and over-professionalism lies perhaps in making the District Boards not only as free as possible as the author suggests, but in gradually increasing their functions and powers and making the district administrations partly responsible to them.

The Native States cannot be left out of account in any political scheme of India "They cannot be mere spectators of the constitutional changes now impending." The author is very much opposed to the Indian princes being reduced to the position of mere great nobles. It "would be a crime against history, art and even nationality." Also the present arrangements cannot go on after British India reaches the first stages toward self-Government. The author sees no very great difficulty in the problem. In federalism lies its simple and honourable (perhaps for the princes, not their subjects) solution. They must be made, everyone of them, completely autonomous in internal affairs. The States in their turn would have to accept full military, naval and customs control from the Government of India. The tribute paid by them should be abolished and instead of it they must make an uniform percentage of contribution equal to that paid by the Provincial Governments to the Central Government.

The relation with Imperial Government in London, through the Secretary of State for India, would be the first business of the Central Government. The position of the Secretary of State "would more and more approximate to that of the Secretary of State for the colonies and his Council would be abolished." The Army and Navy would be under the Government of India, including all maritime and foreign affairs and customs. It would receive a settled contribution from each province and native State. The railway administration and finance also would be under it, for an uniform and fair adjustment of rates throughout the country.

"The Headship of the Government of India would naturally remain with the representative of the King-Emperor, the Viceroy." The time has come to appoint to the Viceregency a son or brother of the Sovereign, and to make the tenure non-political. The another shows very forcibly why this change should now take place. The Viceroy will have a cabinet with a Prime Minister at the head of it

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who will be nominated by the Imperial Government in England, for a definite period. The cabinet will have ministers for Defence, Finance, Customs, Railways, External Commerce, Foreign Affairs and the Interior. The Prime Minister, under the Viceroy's guidance, will choose his Indian and English colleagues without restraint as he thought best.

The Imperial Legislature will consist of a single council or Senate, as after the federal constitution comes into effect, there would be little to legislate about. Each provincial State will send ten representatives to this, "some chosen by the Governor and approved by either one or the other House and the remainder selected by each to the Assemblies, and approved by the Governor. The great native States will send five while even the smallest will send at least one representative. "The Senate would legislate for the whole of India ; but the proposed federal constitution will make such occasions rare or formal."

This in brief is the outline of the constitution proposed for India. It is a frank, bold, and careful opinion of one of the leading Indian patriots and political thinkers. There is no gainsaying the sincerety of the author's purpose and the ability of his study or the clearness of his exposition. There is much in it that the August and illustrious authors of the 'Indian Reforms' themselves agree with and much besides which they might with advantage borrow from it before the final modifications are made. But the suggestion that the executive should be absolutely independent and irresponsible to the Legislature is a proposal that would be looked upon with the greatest suspicion by all Indians, even coming as it does from so eminent an authority. Most of the present grievances are all traced back to this and with it left unaltered or without a prospect of its being altered gradually in the future, any amount of reconstruction would fail to meet the needs of India Even a completely Indianised Executive cannot be left absolutely independent and irresponsible or responsible only to the governor, who will himself not be responsible to the Legislature, having the right of veto in any and every instance and the power to carry on with a repetition of the previous year's financial policy and the existing taxes, if the Legislative Assembly rejected the Budget. Thus even the financial control of the Assembly would be only nominal. Even at present the chief complaint is not so much against the personal of the Executive, as against the bureaucracy and its irresponsibility to the public opinion. It has a nasty trick, once left independent, of alienating itself from the people. Besides the tradition would be too strong for it, with all its best intentions. Even the United Kingdom had a bitter experience of a comparatively independent Executive during the war time. During such a short period it caused a great dissatisfaction by its objectionable ways of doing things. Only the pre-eminent necessity of efficiency in the Government at that hour secured its existence. How much objectionable the system would prove itself to be if made a permanent condition of Indian administration one could very well imagine. The author's belief in this particular sacrifice to the God of efficiency is almost impassioned and we say only that we are surprised at it seeing that Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu have themselves thought better of it in however modest a way. The author somewhere speaks of making the Executive responsible to the whole of the people and not to a small body like the Legislative Assembly. Now we do not believe any Legislative Assembly to be infallible but at the same time we do not see any other way of making the Executive responsible to the people except by making it responsible to their representative body. In trying to make it responsible to the whole of the people, it is made responsible

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to nothing but itself or to God. In H. H the Aga Khan we see the solitary exception who very much regrets the selection of the term '*responsible* Government' for India in the announcement of the 20th August, 1917.

Evidently the problem of the 'Native States,' if British India is to have self-Government, is not so easy one as the author seems to suppose. He, in fact, ignores the problem or more truly refuses to see it as a problem. However much the British Government might think it necessary to assure the rulers of the native states that all the relations with them existing at present would be unchanged and inviolate in the future, or however much H. H. the Aga Khan might recommend to make all the native States internally independent (i. e. autocratic) and federated in the empire as independent units, it must indeed, be a strange phenomenon of human nature if the vast populations of the native States look upon the changes taking place into their neighbourhood, with stoical calm and unconcern. That problem would arise sooner or later after the proposed change in the Indian constitution is put into force. For one with open eyes, there are evident signs of it. Next, the number of these native States and the radical differences in extent population and present administration between one native State and another, instead of not being a bar to their incorporation as independent units in the proposed federal system, as the author dogmatically states, will be almost the greatest bar to it. You cannot put an owner of a very small area of land who calls himself a *rajah* and his administration on a level with the independent provincial states of to morrow. Their representatives would swell the number of members of the Central Legislature and would throw the representatives of the provinces into a minority, which one would think anything but fair. Either the problem has got to be accepted for what it is and solved before putting into force any new system for self-government or it will pop up like the ghost in the box to the great consternation of all concerned soon after the changes are effected.

The introduction of a Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature, if not injurious is at least an unnecessary encumbrance. The Provincial States of the future will be far from simple and this additional complication will serve no purpose. Both the houses being based on the principle of election might as well be fused into one. In case of a difference of opinion they are to both combined. Why on earth then, they should sit separate at other times is what we fail to perceive. The two houses, wherever they are maintained, are maintained generally because they are based on different principles.

We are not surprised at the author's recommendation for election to the Legislative Assemblies to be on a communal basis. To anyone outside the Hindu community, this seems to be the only feasible plan. If the so-called higher castes do not show any universal spirit and effective action to uplift the lower communities even in the social sphere, a foreign Government, out of necessity must do something to restore the latter on the way to progress and to a better sense of self-respect. We are not quite sure as to the communal basis of election righting all wrongs in the end, but even if it is adopted, it must be with the clearest understanding that it would be a temporary measure, to be abolished as soon as the necessity disappears.

The rest of the proposals for the future administration of India, we most confidently believe, are the outcome of the author's keen political genius, foresight, instinctive grasp of the Indian conditions and would with necessary modifications

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go a great way toward building up that India of to-morrow which every Indian will be proud to claim as his country.

* * * * *

But if one undertook to judge the effort of H. H. the Aga Khan from the constitution that he proposes for India or from his scheme of South Asiatic Federation he would assuredly be making a sorry mistake. It is the other half of the book, where he discusses in details and suggests methods for improvements, in the thousand and one things, all comparatively minor in themselves individually, but the bulk of which really makes up India, it is there especially that one sees the author's love for India, his thorough study and minute knowledge of Indian conditions and his long and persistent thought as to how they might be mended. It is supplemented, moreover, by his very useful knowledge of conditions and expediencies of life abroad, gathered from his extensive travels, which he brings to bear upon the finding of the solutions of the manifold difficulties that confront any honest effort at reconstruction of the Indian forces. There is no waiving of the problem, no ignoring of the difficulty, no effort to mince matters or to equivocate; neither is there any sign of an impatience which often characterises works of those who are used to deal with questions of the highest importance. He looks every difficulty in the face, patiently and courageously, without any self-deception or unjustifiable optimism, down from the questions of the restoration of the status of the depressed classes and the women in the general, social and political scheme, right upto the questions of importance like Local Self-Government, the future Indian Army and Navy, Industries and Tarriffs or credit and commerce, discussing side by side the questions of agriculture, primary, secondary and higher education of the masses and public health. To show the necessity of reforms in all these things, whether on the lines that the author suggests or any other, we would take the liberty of reproducing the one pen-picture that the author draws of the Agricultural India of to-day says he :

" I could safely challenge any widely travelled and observant fellow-countryman, familiar with social economics on each of the great continents, to deny after due reflection that the present condition of Indian agriculture and of 219,000,000 human beings dependent thereon is the greatest and most depressing economic tragedy known to him. ..... A typical rural scene on an average day in an average year is essentially the same now as it was half a century ago. A breeze, alternately warm and chilly, sweeps over the monotonous landscape as it is lightened by a rapid dawn, to be followed quickly by a heavy molten sun appearing on the horizon. The ill-clad villagers, men, women, and children, thin and weak, and made old beyond their years by a life of underfeeling and over-work, have been astir before daybreak, and have partaken of a scanty meal, consisting of some kind or other of cold porridge, of course without sugar and milk. With bare and hardened feet they reach the fields and immediately begin to furrow the soil with their lean cattle of poor and bybrid breed, usually sterile and milkless. A short rest at midday, and a handful of dried corn or beans for food, is followed by a continuance till dusk of the same laborious scratching of the soil. Then the weary way homeward in the chilly evening, every member of the family shaking with malaria or fatigue. A drink of water probably contaminated, the munching of a peace of hard black or green chaupaty, a little gosip round the peepul tree, and then the day ends with heavy unrefreshing sleep in dwellings so insanitary that no decent European farmer would house his cattle in them. To teach this vast mass of people better

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methods of agricultural industry, to awaken in them the ambition for learning and improvement, to lead them to differentiate between waste and thrift when the result is not immediate, to secure for them the just fruits of their toil—these, in the aggregate, constitute the great economic problem of India."

The author also devotes a chapter to the question of making East Africa, German and British, a truly Indian Colony on lines somewhat similar to those proposed by Sir Theodore Morison. The scheme was published by the latter first in the 'Nineteenth Century and After' and then in this Review and as it has been discussed freely in the Indian press, we would fain refrain from any more repitition of the arguments advanced elsewhere against it or in its favour. If H. H. the Aga Khan's proposal implies "that we must abandon the idea of unrestricted migration within the Empire.....for Indians....." as Sir Theodore means it to be, no self-respecting Indian would be prepared to waive his birth right. What will be India's place in the Empire, if it has not an unrestricted migration into it? Certainly not that of an honourable partner. All talk of it, for any practical purpose, might then better be dropped. There is no surer way of making India sullen and sulking once more by throwing cold water on its present enthusiasm in the Empire than by asking it to refrain from molesting and annoying the white supermen in the Empire, by its dark presence. In a masterly note on the question, the Editor of the Modern Review (January 1919) says: "Another reason why we are against Sir Theodore Morison's proposal is that he lays down the condition that in lieu of the boon or the bribe of a preserve in East Africa. Indian are practically to write themselves and their children's children down as unclean and untouchable creatures unworthy to have the right of unrestricted migration within the Empire. No, we cannot renounce that right, for the sake of any doubtful or even undoubted advantage." Now, even if we should not want to put our objection in so strong a language or to agree with the learned editor in the ultimate issue of the question, we certainly are with him in spirit in this one particular objection.

The author concludes the book with the discussion of the 'Limits of British Trusteeship' and 'India's share in War' and maintains that the relations between India and Britain in future cannot be what they are *i.e.*, that of trustee and ward, but that there must be now a devolution of authority from the British electorate to the representatives of all the communities of India. He has a boundless confidence in the sense of justice and fairplay of the British democracy "To maintain that the system of the last sixty years must be continued in the interests of law and order is to misunderstand wholly the spirit and aspirations of enlightened Indian opinion." He is convinced that "if a large measure of initiative is not given to India by those in authority, the British democracy with its inherent sense of right and wrong, will see to this being done."

To try to praise the book, or to recommend it to the notice of the readers, would be but a vain effort. It needs no recommendation or even an introduction. In the eighteen years of this century, we do not know of any effort that has been made to present, discuss, and solve the Indian problem in all its aspects and details in a more brilliant and thorough-going way than this contribution of His Highness the Aga Khan. It is written in a delightfully simple literary style and must appeal to every sensible and educated Indian in a greater or less degree. We only regret the prohibitive price of fifteen rupees that has been put to it by its publishers. Even the war or the post-war conditions do not justify it. It is a book that must find its way to the hands of every Indian, who can read English and understand some 'politics.' It must also have a very wide circulation in England, at least amongst those who are interested in Indian affairs. And precisely for all that, a cheaper edition is absolutely necessary. We hope the publishers would soon see the advantage of issuing it.

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The Significance of Oriental Art.

By Dr. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

THE 'influence' of Oriental art on modern Western art is a potent fact and may be detected alike in painting and sculpture, music, dancing, costume and handicraft. This influence has been, for the most part, pernicious—little more significant than the imitation of mannerisms in response to a demand for the exotic, quaint, and mysterious. For those for whom the actual East is too strong meat, the quasi-Oriental draperies and pseudo-Oriental dance and the 'Chinoiseries' of a few painters have provided a new sensation.

Those who look upon the East as mysterious and romantic have only themselves to thank for the creation of a novel unreality. What is romantic and mysterious to a foreigner is classic and self-evident to a native: and no one can be said to understand the art of the East or any other art so long as it remains to him a curiosity—only when he sees that it must have been as it is, does he begin to understand. He will see then that it does not represent a fine accomplishment or something undertaken for fun, but expresses an entire mentality and racial inheritance. Through it he may learn the better to understand the unfamiliar faith—but how can he through its formulæ express *himself*, or 'stand in his own place in his own day here'?

If Oriental art as a complete and fixed expression—in truth, a dead language, having received its last and mortal wounds at the hands of Western industrialism and diplomacy has no more value for the artist than for other men, however great this common importance (as expressing the heart and mind of the East) may be, we may proceed to ask what particular significance the late 'discovery of Asia' may have for Western artists. Here we come at once upon the solid ground of Asiatic psychology and criticism: for the East is able to remind us of many things that are important in the genesis of art. It is rather the teacher of art and art appreciation, than the practising artist, who should study Oriental art—the latter, should he even visit the Orient in person, will find the living man more marvellous than any ancient monument.

'The forms of images,' says Sukracarya, an Indian critic, 'are determined by the relation that subsists between adorer and adored.' Although in theological language, this is a perfectly general statement of how it is that a work of art assumes just that particular form it comes to have: the adorer is the artist, the adored is the theme, the image is the work of art. Without a relation of necessity between the artist and his theme, there is nothing to express, and consequently, the result cannot be a

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work of art. No genuine form can be created without there having been profound reasons for its existence: style is determined by what we have to say and not by arbitrary or fanciful choice. I do not condescend to discuss the opportunity that still remains for illustration. In the common case the artist has nothing to say; I take it for granted that the distinction between illustration and expression needs no emphasis.

The essential problem of the artist is to see or hear the form of his intuition sufficiently clearly: as Blake expresses it, 'He who does not imagine in stronger and better lineaments, and in stronger and better light, than his perishing mortal eye can see, does not imagine at all!' In genuine art, whether visionary or realistic, there is nothing vague or indefinite—'the want of this determinate and bounding form evidences the idea of want in the artist's mind, and the pretence of plagiary in all its branches.' In Western schools of art, the teaching is directed solely to the acquisition of manual skill—and yet we all know that the art of a modern, while it is not necessarily inferior to that of a Giotto, is not necessarily superior merely because of the knowledge of perspective and anatomy it reveals. No manual dexterity or analytical knowledge can compensate for the original deficiency of visualization. And it is precisely in the cultivation of this power—partly as the result of the practise of drawing always from stored memories rather than from still life (the posed model, from this point of view, is but little superior to the plaster cast), but still more from the regular practise of visualization, alike in the private practise of religion and in the artist's preparation for any work he may undertake that the East, and particularly India, has something of importance for Western artists. To put the idea very simply the true work of creation must be completed before the brush or pen is put to paper: and what is of most importance from every point of view is the reality of the original creation. If this is to be vital, the artist must be pre-occupied, saturated with, or, as we should say in India, identified with his subject; and if not so, it will not be worth while for him to take up his tools. In schools of art, from the very beginning, at least as much time should be devoted to drawing from imagination or memory, as to the study of forms objectively present. At present, almost all children possess a greater or less degree of creative imagination, which is destroyed as soon as they are taught that it is more important to draw accurately than to draw expressively. The training in accuracy, however necessary, should be patently subordinated to the cultivation of imagination (I speak, let me say again, always of art, and not of illustration). Moreover, the meaning of 'accuracy' for an artist should be carefully explained: Leonardo very wisely remarks that that drawing is best which best expresses the passion that animates a figure; and as we have learnt anew through the courage of impressionist

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modern artists like Cezanne—a far more significant figure than any living painter East of Suez—the expression of dominant ideas may often demand an exaggeration or distortion of normal form. That this should be so is a psychological necessity, for every movement of the spirit has a corresponding physical gesture: and for every emotion, there must be set up a corresponding strain in the physical vehicle. Strains this kind are not so simply to be expressed as in merely muscular reaction. There are many drawings demonstrably 'incorrect' which could not be 'better drawn.' That even teachers of art concur in this view is demonstrated by their respect for old masters: it is not commonly held that the paintings of Giotto or the Ajanta frescoes could be advantageously corrected. The theory of progress in art has long been exploded.

Let us turn in conclusion to quite another aspect of art, that of patronage. We may consider separately, although no hard and fast lines can be drawn, the patronage of the public in general, direct or indirect, and that of the rich or powerful individual such as a king or millionaire, or, if the days of such are to be regarded as numbered, that of the dominant individual to whom equality of opportunity has given the power that should rightly be his.

Under the most ideal conditions, the public does not exercise a choice about the sort of art it gets. A community with a living soul accepts the intuitions of that consciousness, as they are expressed by those who happen to be functioning artists, without demur. This is actually folk art, and the solid foundation of everything else. In the most fortunate periods, the taste of the folk and of persons in power is identical, a situation typically illustrated in mediæval Europe and Hindu India. But for this there is needed not only a community of taste, but a living tradition: and for the inheritance of a tradition, there must be some kind of social equilibrium. Equally, for the maintenance of standards of craftsmanship, no less than for the finest quality of work in any other field, the artist must not be under the stern necessity of selling himself or his work to avoid starvation, he must not be subject to exploitation, nor bound to consult the taste of uncultivated individuals or audiences. Nor should there be any hard and fast line drawn between the artist and the artisan, art and industry. Under Oriental conditions, all these circumstances of security and status were provided for, either by the landed endowment of hereditary artists' families, a combination of agricultural and aesthetic activity within the same family, the attachment of hereditary artists to religious foundations, the maintenance of royal workshops at every court, and by the association of similarly functioning individuals in guilds or castes. In other words, a community pretending to cultivation and not merely pre-occupied, as one finds to be the case in a city like this, with

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a merely barbaric struggle for existence, inevitably recognized its responsibility to artists, as to all other workmen, in some formal way, by according to them an inalienable status. The idea would not have occurred to anyone in the East to leave the artist to starve in time of war, on the ground that his activity is supposedly unpractical : in the case of conquest, the artists themselves might become a part of the spoils of war, but their status and activity would not be changed. Political disturbances in ancient times did not so much interfere with art, as do the normal conditions of society now. In other words, whereas in Industrial societies the artist occupies only the precarious position of a parasite, in Eastern countries, as in mediæval Europe he had a definite place in the social order.

Neither the existence of museums nor of individual rich collectors can be said to prove a love of art in modern society. Necessary as they may be, the very necessity for museums goes far to prove the absence of a genuine artistic activity in the community: for they exist to preserve such things as were once but common articles of commerce. The great museum cannot be regarded as a compensation for civic and sectional squalor. On the other hand, the great collector cannot be regarded as a patron of art, in many cases not even as a lover of art. In ages of genuine patronage, the powerful patron lent protection and support to living artists; and had this not been the case, those works which we now collect and preserve, and which command such extravagant prices, would never have come into existence. It is not the purchase of stray works of art by museums or collectors, but the opportunity provided for continuous and consistent work, having public rather than private application. The artist responds to the demand the more that is asked of him, the more he has to give. If he gives comparatively little to-day, it is because we are content with so little.

To sum up what has been last said, a great part of the significance of Oriental art is to be read in the relation of art to life regarded as normal in Eastern societies.

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The Failure of Modern English Education to develop the ethical and spiritual being of students.

By the HON'BLE Mr. P. RAMANATHAN, K.C., C. M. G.

THE course of education, as imparted in our schools and colleges, has no other end than the capacity for living a pleasant and comfortable life, and for making money to provide oneself with things that relate to the comforts of the body. Escape from barbarism, from idleness, and from the tendency of the mind to be satisfied with one's present surroundings, even if they are filthy and corrupt, is indeed worthy of human effort. We must not live like animals or savages Modern education endeavours to place before students the facts ascertained by history and science regarding the past, and the structure of the universe, so far as it can be ascertained by the senses, helped by such instruments as the microscope, the telescope, scales and weights, and the chemical tube. The better side of *material* life is thrown open little by little to the pupils who flock to our schools and colleges. The advantages of agriculture and trade, the production of wealth by industrial occupations, and the necessity of a small percentage at least of our young men being qualified to take part in the administration of the Government of the country and to devise measures of public usefulness and reform are constantly held out as worthy objects of attainment. But considering that a person devoted to the gratification of the senses is inferior to a person who delights in intellectual pleasures, and considering that an intellectual man is inferior to one who is intellectual, moral and philanthropic as well, and considering that an able philanthropists is inferior to spiritual men who know and teach the truth that the material side of civilization, if not strongly tempered with spirituality, is bound to work ruin on all sides,—as we have witnessed in the case of German *kultur*—it must be conceded that the vast number of schools and colleges which are visited, examined, and aided with grants by the Educational Department of the Government, whether here or in any Western country, have failed to develop in students ethical conduct, public spirit, philanthropy or godliness. Indeed men like the late Professor Huxley have proclaimed that modern education is a complete failure, because

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nothing that is imparted within the walls of a public school has made a bad man a good man. If a child were congenitally *good*, he would no doubt become *useful* by the training he undergoes there ; but if evil propensities are dominant, or if indifference to uplift himself were his characteristic, the training he received would only intensify his corrupt state and make him a menace to the town or country in which he lives.

We all know that we are living in a work-a-day world, in a world in which we have to toil every day. The first problem which confronts us is—what are we to toil on ? Are we to toil for shelter against sun, wind, and rain only ?—to build fine houses and live in them luxuriously? Are we to toil for food and dress only ?—to taste dainty dishes and wear fine garments only ?—Are we to toil constantly for gratifying the pleasures of the senses, or for amusement only ?

Human beings are bodily different from animals. The latter have no notions of right and wrong, have no knowledge of letters and numbers, they cannot learn the use of words or gather abstract knowledge, nor communicate to others the result of their observation and experience. They are creatures of passion and emotion and are in a perpetual state of fear, owing to the harm they expect not merely from their congeners, but also from the members of their class. Notwithstanding the higher gifts granted to human being, are men and women to be like animals, content to lead the life sensuous, to gratify one sense after another in succession ?

The creed of the sensuous person is "eat, drink and be merry, for, to-morrow we die." Many who belong to this class are inherently wicked, caring naught for the rights of others. Many keep their sensuous gratifications within the bounds of the law *in the presence of others*. Sin with them is not wrong doing, but being detected in wrong doing! Another class of people tempers the life sensuous with a modicum of intellectual life. They read novels and other books of light literature, play some musical instruments, sing comic songs, draw caricatures, joke mildly and laugh with some restraint. Another set of people are less sensuous and more intellectual, reading mostly books of solid literature and given to discussing the serious topics of the day. A fifth set is made up of intellectual and public-spirited men and women who do not love gossip or scandal, but are

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devoted to the work of uplifting the people. A sixth set consists of persons with a philosophic turn of mind. They argue upon the higher topics of life, distrust the showy side of the world, and long to know whether there is something more real than the ever-changing, shifting phenomena which the senses and the mind attest. A seventh set consists of those who are spiritual. They believe in God, in the necessity for uplifting the fallen by constant works of loving kindness, some of them very difficult to achieve except with the most persistent courage and research. They are quiet, non-controversial people, unostentatiously active in all that concerns the welfare of humanity.

Little need be said of the two classes of people who delight in the life that is sensuous. They are not far from animals. Nothing but painful experiences will wean them from the error of their ways. The last class, the spiritually minded, are beyond the scope of this lecture. We are now concerned only with those who fall within the remaining four classes, and the question is—on what shall they toil? It is clear that one cannot toil or work on anything without some knowledge about it or capacity for it. Owing to varieties of knowledge and work we have different classes of workers. (1) Supervisors of labourers; (2) Artisans, consisting of handicraftsmen and mechanics, who are primarily responsible for our industrial arts; (3) Clerks who are good at writing and accounts; (4) Traders in whom the spirit of barter is dominant, and whose ideal is to increase their wealth by exchanging one commodity for another. Those who know the values of things and watch for opportunities caused by the rise and fall of the market, succeed in becoming capitalists. (5) Men who have an aptitude for Teaching, Law, Medicine or Religion. Teachers, Lawyers, Doctors, and Preachers have great opportunities for doing good on their respective platforms; (6) Public-spirited men who devote most of their time towards the protection of the people, redressing their wrongs and working for their uplift; and (7) Officers of the Government who like to have a settled monthly income by work that is not menial or under an irresponsible master, but is associated with the king and wins for the holder of the office the esteem of the people because of its dignity and freedom from worry.

All except the common labourers have to learn their respective works carefully. If they work hard and skilfully, they will have their reward in the good things of the world, to wit, good

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food, decent dress, house, furniture etc., which conduce to the comfort of the body and the gratification of the senses. The higher and more lasting reward is the acuteness of the senses and the mental faculties, without which enlightenment and power for good work are not to be had in abundance.

Mere toiling on any of the seven fields of work specified is not sufficient. Greater than the question—on what shall each of the four classes work, who are not in bondage to the senses, is the question—In what spirit shall they work while they work? The spirit with which one should work is most important. Is work to be done selfishly, for advancing one's own personal aggrandizement? Or, is it to be done unselfishly, not only for our own improvement but also for the good of others? Take, for instance, the manufacture of an article like a shoe, or a piece of furniture. The question for the artisan should be, not whether he can plam off a flimsy article for the best price, but whether the work he has produced is the best of its kind, and will be useful to the purchaser for the longest possible time. A work that is superficially good but internally bad is not worth human effort, because humanity means reason and love combined. The wider they are, the better for one's self and the rest of the world would they be. What is the good of practising the law for the sake of a fee, if the lawyer will not do his very best for his client consistently with the highest ethics and the highest strength he is capable of? What is the good of a clerk or the head of a Department, serving the Government, if he makes only a show of work, without thoroughness, or without any sign of the mind having been applied to every part of the subject which he has had to handle, and without throwing as much light as possible on it, so as to make it easy for the Government to give its decision in the matter? If we work with selfish ends, our spirit will become more and more materialized. In the end, when the span of life allotted to us comes to a close, our spirit will be all but quenched. The period assigned to us for work on earth will be wasted time, and utterly fruitless.

What one should strive to attain through knowledge and work is the steady growth of love and purity. In your career through life, you all have had many troubles, which have marred your peace as well as pleasures, and made your lives burdensome for even months. During the continuance of your troubles, you have known not only depression and despondency, but also

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violent impulses of anger and hate. You have witnessed too, within yourselves, a strong disinclination to work and to fulfil the duties of life during such stormy times. You have often been confused, and found yourselves unable to decide and act at the proper time. Your vision has often gone narrow and even quite dark and, in this state of obscurity, you have failed to develop love and purity within yourselves or others.

What is the remedy for this unfortunate condition? In the world outside, light is the remedy for darkness. In the world within, right knowledge is the remedy for ignorance, which is the fundamental cause of all our troubles. What help has our modern system of education in schools and colleges given us towards the attainment of that knowledge which triumphs over sorrow, depression, despondency, anger, hate, jealousy, confusion and moral and spiritual ruin?

The kind of education given in our scholastic institutions all relate to the life ephemeral, and not to the life eternal. Coming out of our schools and colleges our pupils see abroad nothing but the worship of physical force, and the ways of self-aggrandizement, even in the making of empires. While self-aggrandizement in domestic, social and civic life is universally condemned, this policy in imperial life is praised to the skies by every one in the empire who hopes to benefit by the acquisition of foreign lands and the appropriation of resources which lawfully belong to others.

The greatest quest for all thinking men and women is the Life Eternal in worldly life. The sages of India called it *Sanathana Dharma*. Unless our boys and girls learn something of this Uplifting, purifying doctrine in our schools and colleges, they will continue to be ignorant, and be easily victimized by error, mistake, confusion and sorrow.

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The Report of the Calcutta University Commission ? 1917-1919.

By Mr. NIRMAL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.L.

" Bengal requires types of education which make the individual more productive and enhance the social and economic well-being of the whole people."

(*Report. Chapter LI, paragraph 78.*)

THE five volumes of the report of the Calcutta University Commission have amply justified the expectations of the Indian public—both in quantity and in quality. The Commission made an exhaustive and thorough study of the educational problem of this country—which is also "a social, political and economic problem of the most complex and difficult character." We had high hopes of learning a good deal of abiding importance for the educational welfare of our country from such a body of eminent experts holding the best possible credentials from the east and the west. These hopes have been realised. The report unmistakably shows the synthesis between the philosophical idealism of Sir Michael Sadler and the sagacious genius of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee. There are some very unhappy traces of unsatisfactory compromise which is responsible for the retrograde and dangerous features of the scheme the Commissioners have recommended.

We welcome this remarkable report chiefly on three grounds, and we hope every careful reader will agree with us. The first thing that strikes us is that the Commissioners definitely disclaimed the conventional attitude of superiority of Western culture and of imposing that culture upon others. Secondly, they have evinced a rare sympathy for the traditions and the institutions of this country,—which is conspicuously absent in analogus documents—and have taken careful note of the human side of the problem. Thirdly, they have boldly attempted to make the University an autonomous self-governing organisation—freed from the overcautious restraints of a rigid bureaucracy. These are the happy features which will appeal to Indians and ensure the spontaniety of the reception accorded to the report.

No one can blindly champion the present system of education. The Commission has pointed out its numerous defects in no uncertain voice—bad schools, bad colleges, underpaid teachers, preponderance of literary courses, rigidity of the regulations, excessive domination of the examinations, and unsatisfactory relation with the Government which provides too many opportunities of conflict with the state. It is easy to criticise but very difficult to prescribe remedies. The Commission has done the former business admirably well but performed the latter task in a far less satisfactory manner.

The Commission has made three recommendations with regard to the improvement of higher education,—the institution of a teaching University in Calcutta with multi-collegiate organisation, the establishment of a residential University at Dacca, and a new separate organisation for the Mofussil colleges under a special Board. The first two will meet the sincere approval of all concerned. But the third recommendation is not at all satisfactory. It ought

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to be criticised on two grounds. Firstly, it creates a University within a University, an imperium within an imperio. The scheme of the Commission, if enforced without amendment on this point, will inevitably lead to the Establishment of two Universities under one name. A. B. A., or an M. A., under the new regime would be confronted with the question—whether he comes from Calcutta or the Mofussil? Moreover, all the graduates will not denote the same educational ware. Necessarily the Calcutta man will receive higher value for his degree and the Mofussil boy will not have the opportunity of rubbing his shoulder with the best students of the teaching University. Secondly, it would certainly relegate the Mofussil colleges to a very subordinate position—in many cases through no fault of their own.

All the Mofussil colleges have been indiscriminately penalised for the faults of a few of them, whereas the worst Calcutta Colleges will receive the benefits of the teaching University and association with her great educational institutions—because they happen to be located in Calcutta. The scheme will disfranchise the Berhampur, Rajshahi and Rangpur colleges and place them under the Mofussil Board with other bad colleges of the Mofussil. It will at the same time extend the benefits and privileges of the teaching University to all the colleges of Calcutta simply on account of their geographical position. We can never reconile ourselves to this situation which denies to Berhampur and Rajshahi the privileges of association and examination granted to the Bangabasi and the Ripon colleges. The Commission hopes that the stronger Mofussil colleges will work out their own salvation as "potential Universities," while the rest will ultimately concentrate their resources in Intermediate work. One critic has remarked that "they have heaven or hell to choose between with no other alternative." We fail to see where is the prospect of heaven and how it can be realised. This separate organisation for the Mofussil colleges will have to work under various disadvantages—second rate teachers (the best must be drawn to the powerful teaching Universities at Calcutta and Dacca), limited resources, inferior hallmark, imperfect guidance by a Board with diverse academic and administrative functions, and lack of direct contact and association with the intellectual atmosphere of Calcutta; but all the Mofussil colleges do not certainly deserve this cursed lot.

The Sadler Commission has tried to remedy the evils of the present system of Secondary education by the removal of the Intermediate classes from the University to new institutions called "Intermediate Colleges," by the institution of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, and by the separation of these Intermediate Colleges from the Degree colleges. There is very little objection to the transfer of the Intermediate classes to Intermediate Colleges and it would at once reduce the excessive number of students under the care of the Degree Colleges. The members of the Commission hold that out of the 26,000 students preparing for University degrees about 15,000 are in the first year and second year classes—described as school boys occupied with what is really school work. If these 15,000 students, the majority of whom are unfit for proper University training and unready for University methods of instruction be excluded from the Degree Colleges, there will be 11,000 students or only 43% of the present number left under the control of the University. This innovation will also increase the age and the qualification of the student aspirant for University education.

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It is difficult to predict how far the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education would secure the improvement of the 698 high schools in Bengal with their 224,524 pupils. The Board will no doubt relieve the University from the burden of their control and examination. But the composition of the Board leaves much to be desired and its location in the same building with the office of the D. P. I., will ensure neither the co-ordination between the University and the Department of Public Instruction nor the synthesis between State supervision and private effort in the sphere of Secondary and higher education—which the Commission wants to realise. The Commission strongly criticised the lack of co-ordination between the University and the Department of public Instruction leading to the absence of a coherent system of Secondary education. But we are afraid, the constitution of this heterogeneous Board with very few representatives of the University on it will not reduce the existing cleavage but establish an unhappy duilism between the University and the Board, the Board and the Department of Public Instruction, and, the Intermediate Colleges and the Degree Colleges.

The Commission has noted the excessive preponderance of literary courses and the absence of technical education which creates a discontented "intellectual proletariat not without reasonable grievances'.' This is, no doubt, the crying evil of the day. The bread problem must be solved and the present system cannot provide the University men with decent living. The energy of the middle class of Bengal must be directed towards industry and commerce and the develpment of the natural resources of the country. Calcutta is awfully backward in this respect. In these days of industrial regeneration and ecnomic readjustment the Calcutta University does not recognise agriculture, technology and commerce as branches of University studies and makes no provision for training in these subjects. The development of advanced technological training and research, for which Calcutta is so eminently fitted, will have a very benefical effect upon the high schools and the colleges as they will have to change their literary forms of training and modernise their curricula to satisfy the needs of students who would look forward to industrial and commercial careers. The whole Educational system will thus be given a practical turn.

The great principle upon which the Commission has planned a comprehensive reconstruction of the present educational system is the combination of what is best in western and in Indian education. In this difficult task the teachers must play a great part and they should be given necessary freedom for the proper discharge of their responsible functions. The Commission remarks "Perhaps the crucial problem in English, as in Indian, education is to discover a way of giving public subsidy to education without hampering the freedom of those teachers who are qualified for their work" (Report Chapter XXX paragraph 43). The Commission has strongly criticised the sharp unfortunate cleavage between the Government schools and colleges and the privately managed schools and colleges chiefly due to the different modes of recruitment in the two different types of institutions. The Commission has suggested the best possible solution—the gradual abolition of the service system and the organisation of teaching work on a professional and not on a service basis. The service system has many attractive features, such as, the security of tenure, comparative adequacy of salaries, safe pensions, chances of promotion, long furlough and social prestige. It has numerous drawbacks which far outweigh its benefits. It hampers originality and restricts the intellectual freedom of the teachers who cannot

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properly inspire or influence his students under a rigid system. The frequent inter-change between collegiate and administrative branches of the service lowers the efficiency of the teachers and causes many administrative inconveniences. Its worst feature is the unjust classification on racial lines which places the most brilliant Indian scholars and researchers in the lower grade of the hierarchy while much inferior men from the west get into the higher ranks of the Indian Educational Service. It is high time that the service system which maintains such an unfair distinction—"a device for ensuring higher salaries and status to the English men, and for keeping Indian scholars in an inferior position"—should give place to a more just and more rational system. The institution of an organised teaching profession will certainly mitigate these evils. It will improve the prospects of the calling of a teacher and attract the best manhood of the nation —without which Bengal can never realize her educational aspirations. It will remove the present tendency to officialise education, will reduce the existing cleavage between Government schools and colleges and privately managed institutions, and facilitate an inter-change of teachers between these institution. Above all it will ensure freedom to individual initiative and success to intellectual capacity. Promotion will no longer depend upon seniority as in the existing heterogeneous service and the youngest teacher may begin from the lowest rung of the ladder but he can reach the top by his ability and talent. The relations of the European members of the profession with the students and their Indian colleagues will certainly be better. The Commission observes "they are regarded by their students with a sort of suspicion, not as their intellectual leaders, but as Government agents set to watch over them." (Report, Chapter XIII, paragraph 24). The abolition of the present indefensible system will remove the just grievances of the Indians who resent the invidious racial distinctions. It will likewise improve the unfortunate position of the European teachers who will command the respect and win the allegiance of the students not by their status as great Government Officials but by their academic distinctions and devoted service to the cause of educating the people they will workamong.

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The War and Indian Trade and Industry.

By PROFESSOR IKBAL BAHADUR SAKSENA, M.A.

The Director of Statistics in an address at the Social Service Exhibition, Dacca, says:—

TRADE.

"DESPITE the phenomenal shortage of ocean-freight and the restrictions on the outflow of our goods, especially to neutrals, the value of the overseas trade in merchandise was in the year 1917-18 nearly Rs. 393 crores as against Rs. 370 crores the pre-war average. Imports of merchandise, as compared with the five pre-war years, increased by 3 per cent, exports by 6 per cent and re-exports, owing to the scarcity of shipping and the necessity of making India for the moment a distributing centre, showed an increase of no less than 97 per cent. Apart, in some cases a very large part of the increase in the value of the imports and exports was due to a rise in prices. Imports, for example, were valued at Rs. 150 crores or Rs. 79 lakhs more than in 1916-17, but when the prices of the latter year are applied the value is reduced to Rs. 122 crores, thus showing an increase in the import trade, on account of higher prices, of 23 per cent. The actual volume of the trade decreased by 18 per cent so that the Indian importers had to pay 23 per cent more to get 18 per cent less. The actual declared value of exports during 1917-18 was Rs. 233 crores, while the value calculated at the prices of the previous year was Rs. 216 crores, or in other words there was a gain of 8 per cent on account of higher prices. The volume of export was as compared with the preceding year, 9 per cent less."

The above extract shows that during 1917-18, compared to 1916-17 our imports were 18 per cent and exports only 9 per cent less, while the prices were 23 per cent and 8 per cent higher respectively. As measured in money it means that in order to get 23 per cent less goods we had to pay Rs. (150—122) 28 crores more while for our goods the exports of which was in volume only 9 per cent less, we received only Rs. (233-216) 17 crores more. That means that during the year by rise of prices we suffered a loss of Rs. (28-17) 11 crores. If Indian prices could have risen as much as foreign prices, instead of suffering a loss we would have undoubtedly gained. But in India owing to Government control of exports and prices, a rise in prices to the full extent possible was prevented. When we remember that most of the Indian goods exported to the Allies were of promise national importance we can have some idea of the sacrifice sustained by India in allowing the exports at comparatively lower prices. We have no doubt that if India had not formed a part of the B. E., India would have been able to get much more for the goods demanded by the Allies. This shows that by getting Indian goods at the prices at which they were secured, the war bills of the Allies were prevented from rising to the extent they would have done in the other case. It might be said that all this has been the work of British officials. Quite so. But they have utilised Indian foods for war purposes by securing them at prices lower than they would have otherwise paid. In any case the loss suffered by India on account of rise in prices amounts to a sacrifice on her part.

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India exported goods to the value of Rs. 127 crores to England and Rs. 90 crores to the Allies and much of this of considerable national importance, urgently required for the prosecution of the war. Only if there had been no restrictions and Government control, it is probable that we could have secured for our goods much more than we actually did, if for no other reason then at least on account of indispensable demand.

Direction of Trade.

This in fact has been the result of the 'persistent demands on the part of our Allies for our products' stimulating 'the export of commodities of vital or national importance.' Let us see what has been the result of the altered direction of our trade with countries abroad. 'We are now dealing with the British Empire to a greater extent than we did before the war, the share of the B. E. being 57 per cent against 53 per cent in the pre-war period. The profitable markets lost by Germany and Austria have been taken temporarily mainly by Japan and the United States. Imports from Japan last year had increased by 400 per cent above the pre-war quinquennial average while exports to Japan increased by 103 per cent,' with the 'value of trade with the U.S.A. has grown to 200 per cent what it was in the pre-war period, being second only to Japan.'

Although foreign demand for Indian products during the war has reacted on Indian industry, necessity having become the mother of invention, the above extract shows that it has fallen to the lot of Japan and the U. S. to take advantage of the change in the direction of Indian trade. We have very little benefitted from this change. Exports during the war such as these were, were prompted by the exigencies of the war and not owing to the Indian industrial development. We fear the remark of the Director of Statistics, 'the war with all its attendant evils proved a great impetus to industrial development' will prove a fiction rather than a fact, if the government interest in the encouragement of Indian Industrial development becomes lukewarm, as it is likely to be, under the stress of securing the interests of British capitalists and industrialist which must be safeguarded, as they have been, at the expense of Indian industry as pointed out by Sir Sankaran Nair. It is probable exports of Indian raw materials will be encouraged, if not by Government policy, then by shipping companies by offering lower freight charges on raw materials. Germany and Japan have meted out to us such treatment and the Government of India have not been able to safeguard own interests and to protect us from unequal, unfair and unrestricted competition. If it be considered essential that the portion of Indian trade done formerly by Germany and her allies should pass into the hands of Great Britain, her Allies and Dominions, it is equally essential that a portion of it should pass into our own hands. Till now the industrial development in Germany, Japan and other countries has been effected to a certain extent at our cost and our industrial position has been lowered by the open door policy of the Government. Friends and enemies both have taken advantage of that policy. Now the time has come to see that no one should be allowed to grow at our expense. The benefit accruing to us from a change in the direction of Indian trade will be measured by the check acting on the exports of our raw materials and not by an increase of exports to Great Britain and her allies, irrespective of the process of manufacture the goods exported undergo within the country. If the war brings about a tendency on the part of India to export more manufactured goods and less and less raw materials, it will have proved not an unmixed evil to India and Indians,

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The Balance of Trade.

The Balance of Trade *i.e.*, net exports our imports, was in 1917-18 about £m 61½ compared to £m 62⅔ in 1916-17 and a little over £m 52, the pre-war quinquennial average. Allowing for net imports of treasure and funds, the balance in favour of India was about 11⅔ £m against £m 30⅓ in 1916-17 while the pre-war quinquennial average showed £ 285,000 against India. This shows that "for the moment India has assumed the role of a creditor rather than a debtor country."

The problem of the balance of trade is always a very complicated one and the man in the street is quite innocent of the methods by which foreign exchanges are carried on. Without entering into the 'labyrinth of facts relative to India's balance of trade' I should like to imphasize the point that India is on the road to industrial development and consequently stands in need of funds. Up till now India has failed to supply all the capital necessary for the building of railways and other works of public utility. It has therefore been borrowed from England. Interest has to be paid on it. This therefore, is one item entering into the debits of India and affecting the balance of trade. Besides, the Government of India purchases a great deal of stores in England. This has to be paid for. The third item is that of pensions, etc., which roughly require about Rs. 10 crores. Including all these three items India has to pay in "Home Charges" something about Rs. 30 crores every year. This is likely to grow and has practically grown to this prodigious dimensions year after year, as more and more British capital has been sunk in India, as more and more stores have been purchased in England and as more and more British officials are employed in India to keep intact what is called the British character of administration. One and above this there are British Industrialists and capitalists who have invested in industries and commerce a large amount of capital on their private account. Their profits and dividends have also to be accounted for. Adding this to the Home Charges the amount which India has to pay in any one year becomes a very large sum. The export of India, therefore, must be large enough not only to pay for the imports but also for the Home Charges and the earnings of British Capital on private account. During the last 2 years our exports have been on such an unprecedented scale that making allowance for all the debits we had to get about (11⅔+30⅓) 42 million pounds or about 67 crores of rupees. This was lent to England on behalf of India. The question arises, if the payment to the extent of Rs. 67 crores was not received in India, how those from whom the goods was purchased were paid? There is no doubt that those who sold the goods received payment in India. The Government of India paid them. Where did the Government of India get the funds from? The resources were increased by taxation owing to war. Readers must keep this in mind that these 67 crores belong to the Government of India, who paid for the goods purchased by increasing the note-issue, the present circulation of which amounts to more than 150 crores. This is probably 3 times of what it was before the war.

Currency Difficulties.

This brings us to currency difficulties. Indian mints had to work day and night to the utmost of their capacity and went on coining all the silver received from abroad. Still there was difficulty of encashment of notes. The Government is ill at ease owing to the fact that all fresh issues of coins are absorbed and not inturned to circulation. Here we have to ask, how much of coined cash has gone to Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, East Africa and other places There is no

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doubt that a portion of cash has found its way into hoards and this is in no way strange. The stress created by the war prompted persons to keep their wherewithal in their own hands instead of depositing it in banks. Besides this, the amount of notes issued was unprecedentedly large and quite out of proportion with the coined cash in the hands of the Government. In the beginning of the year 1919, silver coined and uncoined in the hands of the Government, including that which was on its way from America, could not have been more than a third of the amount of notes issued. Actually at one time the amount of notes issued was 5 times the amount of cash in hand, that is, under the circumstances only a fifth of the notes were in position of being called convertible. When this was the state of affairs, this was bound to be a stringency in the money market and a difficulty in the encashment of notes. This has not yet been removed, implying that the causes which gave rise to this *impasse* are still at work. It has been made clear that the main cause is to little cash in the hands of the Government combined with urgent demand for cash for financing unprecedentedly large exports. Now the Government says that if coined money continues to disappear in the way it has been doing, she will have to reconsider the whole basis of India's currency and exchange policy. We should also like the Government to do so. For in our opinion and by the analysis of circumstances, it becomes clear that even if all the hoarded money is again put into circulation, it cannot and will not have the effect of easing the situation. It will only lead to a rise of prices. The reason is that those who have got notes will make use of them by tendering them in exchange for services and commodities and will never do this—that they hoard notes in place of rupees. We have been to a large extent using notes and carrying on business by their means. Somehow or other they have sufficed for the needs of trade. If now both the notes and rupees come into circulation, the only result can be a rise in prices. This will not be good. So that the first requirement, in my opinion, is to decrease the amount of currency by with drawing a portion of paper currency and to freely give cash in exchange for notes. As we stand to-day, Government is not in a position to encash notes freely. But so long as Government does not do it freely the public wont bring out their hoards, if there are any. The first thing to do is to re-establish the credit which has been undermined. Unless this is done, hoarded cash is not likely to be brought into circulation. We have during the war learnt some of the advantages of paper money and it is necessary in the interest of future progress of the country that note-circulation should not on any big scale, undergo a domination. But at the same time it is desirable that the hoarded money should be brought out. The public has to be taught something of Economics. Without learning some such lesson, it can never grasp the fact that if we had allowed one money to remain in America and not brought out silver from there, we would have gained some 3 crores of rupees,—equivalent, as the Director of Statistics says, to the cost of Public Instruction in Bengal for more than 12 months. Then again if silver were not used as ornaments, there would be a great saving and profit both to the people and the country.

Hoarding

This last fact introduces into another part of the subject which must be reveiwed in passing. It is very necessary that the Government should overhaul the whole system of currency and exchange but it should keep in view the following observations:—How much money the Government has coined during these 5 years and what on average would it come to, per head of population? So far as I think

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this will not be much. If it comes to about 2—5 rupees per head, it will not be considered much where we take it severally. In sounds however odd in a lump sum. If we can prevent its wasteful use, so much the better. In Europe and America a great deal of money is spent on personal dress, household furniture, tables, chains and plates. There all these and many more expensive things make up the personal equipment and ornament. Here in India the only things to boast of in the matter of personal ornaments are a few silver or gold trinkets. The only difference between our case and that in other countries is that here in India we invest our savings or spend our money on gold or silver ornaments and this by itself does not in any way render any assistance to industries or commerce while in Europe and America their expenditure undoubtedly helps their trade and industry. Another difference is that the way in which we invest our savings withdraws money from the money market and robs it of its usefulness, while in Europe and America it remains in the money market and performs its functions and in doing so helps to lubricate the wheels of industry and commerce. Undoubtedly our ways and means are not suitable for modern times but they will take sometime to change and come up to the most advanced line in this matter. Before we do so we must be educated on modern lines to appreciate the benefits arising from various expedients, used in the financial world, to economise money.

Rise of Prices.

The monsoon of 1917 was an exceptionally good one and this enabled the country to export large quantities of food grains and other things. The monsoon of 1918 was unsatisfactory and caused the prices to rise to a pitch to which they had never before approached. Commodities such as milk selling at 4 as. per seer, Ghee at 8 chhataks per rupee, flour at about 5 seers a rupee that at about 2 seers per rupee, oil at one seer per rupee had never before been known to sell so dear. The pity of it is that prices after having risen do never attain to the former level. Salaries and wages do not increase in the same proportion. The condition of middle and poorer classes under these circumstances is daily getting worse. The Government must put a stop to this, as it is one of the root-causes of the present discontent. Ignorant persons when asked about the British Raj, reply in these words, "The British Raj would have been the best had there been no scarcity, making it difficult for us poor people to fill our stomachs." This is the opinion of the public. The Government must pay attention to this. Scarcity can be remedied in one of the two ways: Either prohibit exports so that prices may be low; or improve industries so that incomes may rise. The first method brings us face to face with insurmountable difficulties and is therefore impracticable. The second is the right course from every point of view. It shall only be by diversification of employment that the ratio of income to expenditure will rise. The long and short of this is that either the prices should be lower with the income remaining stationary or with the advance of prices the income should increase proportionately more. This last can happen only when our trade will be in our hands, our industries will be run by us and the country's progress shall be effected at our hands.

Industrial Aspect.

Coming to industries, the Director of Statistics says that the war has proved a blessing to the tanning industry. There is no doubt this has been the case during the war. If now, after the war, exports of raw hides will be replaced by those of tanned hides and articles prepared of the same, we shall have to be thankful to the war.

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The Indian standpoint has always expressed itself unequivocably against the exports of minerals in their raw state. Minerals in the mines of a country from a reservoir of wealth which is fixed by nature. If the mines are once exhausted and the profit of their working goes out of the country, we shall find, when we are able to undertake mining and turn minerals to industrial account ourselves, that there is nothing of importance left to which one might turn one's hand, for this reason mining development, so long as it is in European hands, is not a matter of congratulation to us.

Cotton spinning and weaving is the only industry which can be called Indian in its true sense. The Indian cotton industry has increased its production by 46 per cent as compared with the pre-war period. The exports of Indian piece-goods have grown in the same interval from 90 million yards before the war 189 million yards in 1917-18. Inspite of this improvement India's chief import is cotton piece-goods. Japan is trying to become an important competitor in this line. The future of our industry is wrapped up in darkness. We do not manufacture our machinery. The price of imported machinery is very much higher to-day than what it was before the war. This is a very serious handicap our cotton industry has to labour under. These British cotton manufacturers are trying to increase their business in the East. In this they will strike against Japan. It will not be to one interest that British and Japanese cloth be imported into India and Indian made cloth be exported to Arabia, Mesopotomia, Palestine, Armenia, Syria and East Africa. These are the possible markets for Indian cloth for the coarse cloth which will suit these markets can be manufactured in India alone. I believe that a change in the direction of cotton trade such as portrayed above will not be advantageous to India. For Indian development it is essential that we should first control our own markets. Before casting longing eyes towards the property of others we should have an opportunity of safeguarding our own.

There is no doubt that some improvement has been effected during the war in the matter of Indian industries. We have exported manufactured goods to the extent of 7 per cent more than we did before the war. The question arises how much of that improvement is such that further development can take place on its basis. If it proves temporary, it is nothing; if on the other hand, permanent, there is every likelihood of some good accruing to us. Many small and some big industries have been established during the war. These can be likened to young plants which require to be taken care of and protected from adverse winds. If the argument of infant Indian Industries does not find favour with the Government, it is likely that what has been done during the war will all come to nought. When we look to the statistics of industry, we are deeply impressed by the roll of figures but these have to be looked into, in order that we may be able to judge of the true state of affairs. Something has been said above of the mining industry. Woollen mills, jute mills, petroleum refineries, tea and coal industries all come under the same category. These do not give in true colours India's progress or Indian's industrial development. If Indians get trained in the working of the existing industries in India, if these industries are carried on with Indian capital, by Indian Entrepreuers and their profits remain within the country, we shall have reasons to think that India has progressed and will go on improving. Indianprogress, so to say, is in name only Indian. The Indian standpoint is that strictly speaking it is not India's progress for it does not better India's condition, it does not add to the income of Indians.

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Government Help to Indian Industries.

The Director of Statistics mentions 4 methods by which Government has given all help it has been able to do to Indian industrial development. This sounds true so far as the war-period is concerned. Our faith will be established only when we shall find that Indian Government gives after the war such encouragement as will enable our industries to keep their heads above water and survive after war competition. After this preliminary remark let us examine one by one methods mentioned by the Director—which are as follows :—

(1) The Government has taken all possible steps to guard against the unnecessary import of articles which are and *can* be produced in India.

If the Government continues to act up to this maxim, our industrial future will be assured. It is an open secret that up till war Government did not act up to this golden principle. It was the stress of war which compelled her to do so. It was also to ease the shipping and other war situations. There was undoubtedly a resolution of the Government of India to the effect that stores should be purchased in India if they are not inferior in quality and higher in prices. Even then the patriotism of officials stood in the way. If the Government of India keeps this fact well in view that almost all things "*can* be produced" in India and that they should not be imported, but that steps be taken to secure their production within the country, I daresay, all will agree to affirm that this can be no better augury for the future of our Industrial position. As has been pointed out above, we are against taking the view that if anything begins to be manufactured under foreign capitalists by the aid of foreign capital and machinery, it falls under the category of India's Industrial development. I lay emphasis on this as the rumour is that British capitalists are thinking of coming to India and starting business at our very doors, surmounting the distance which acts as a sort of protection to us when they are competing from without. This competition from within will verily act as a dagger at our throat.

(2) Government has organised for the first time expert knowledge so far as practicable and made it available to industrialists seeking to begin new concerns.

The Government should not be content with merely making available expert advice, but should so manage the whole affair concerning knowledge and information about industries that investers are attracted to starting new concerns. The same facilities should be made available to all in the line as are provided for by other Governments in their countries. Since India is a vast country and English has not yet permeated the masses, the Industrial Departments of Provincial Governments should see that the information is made available in the vernacular of each province.

(3) New industries have been assisted and encouraged, as the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry pointed out in the Imperial Legislative Council in September '18—"Caustic soda, magnesium chloride, thymol, sandalwood oil, copper, zinc chloride, and refined nitre are chemicals which have now been made in India for the first time on a commercial scale. Ferro-manganese is being produced in large quantities and has even been exported. The manufacture of micanite has been taken in hand by a private firm and by the East Indian Railway. The production of silicate bricks for lining furnaces has been developed so far that it is hoped that India will soon be independent of foreign imports. Great

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progress has been made in the output of accessories for the textile and tea industries."

We ought to know how many of these things are made and manufactured under Indian guidance and control and shall all these be able to brave after war competition ? All this achievement is to tell the bare truth, due to the stress of the war, to the fact that they could not be imported and since they were indispensable, they must have been made and were made. The moral of this effort is pretty clear and it is this that without Government aid nowhere industries have flourished and India will not prove an honourable exception to this rule. Even England has done so. The lesson should not be lost sight of " as it is likely to be, when easy times of peace return."

(4) Industries already established have greatly increased their output since the war. This was bound to be so. Indian armies have been clothed with Swadeshi cloth during the last 2 years of the war. We can say that to the extent of meeting the army demand, supplies going to civil population have been cut off. If now and after both the civil and military demands continue to be met from India, we shall think that improvement has been effected on sound lines. We cannot forget the fact that wartimes were extraordinary and much of what has been done has been effected under the stress of urgency. If we are able to continue to build on the foundations that we have laid, we shall have ample opportunities to express our gratitude.

Effectiveness of Industry.

The new standpoints from which the industrial fields has to be regarded in the period of re-construction have been authoritatively and completely given in the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. But there is one point which in the opinion of the Director of Statistics has not received anything like the importance which it deserves and that is the question of the effectiveness of the agents of production or in short, effectiveness of industry. In the opinion of Professor Taussig of America it is something greater than mere "efficiency." We all agree to this and believe that in order that production be 'effective' the agents of production ordinarily classed as land, labour, capital (including machinery), and organisation should be of the best sort, most efficient compared to their cost. In India these are not in their best state. The question is : How to make them 'effective'? Are we getting that education which adds to our efficiency and enables us to do our work in the best possible way ? Are we being trained in technical schools and colleges opened by Government for that purpose ? Is capital at our disposal in its best state and is there any arrangement for manufacturing machines our industries stand in need of ? Such and similar questions arise and in reply to these we hear that Government is doing everything that is possible for her to do. But, to tell the truth, this is insufficient. What is being done does not make us efficient and cannot make the agents of production as " effective " as in other progressing countries. Therefore my submission is that instead of telling us that we should *be* efficient and effective in our labour, this ought to be made an arrangements for *making* us so. We believe that it is the duty of every state to make its inhabitants 'efficient' (and 'effective.' The Government commands the resources, is responsible, levies taxes and gets the largest amount of money possible from the subjects. If the Government thinks it her duty to maintain peace amongst us, it is equally her only (of course with our co-operation) to see

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that we live not only in peace but also live well and lead a life of true peace and contentment.

Education and Industrial Future.

Sir James Meston has truly hit the mark in these words, "In all these youngmen, who now hang on to the skirts of chance, there is material for increasing the wealth of the country. They could be used, and are urgently wanted in trade and industry, in the handling of labour and the presenting of waste. Give them a sound general education, apprentice them in time to business, and they will have an economic value. But get them half-taught, consume their best years in a struggle which leads to nothing, and what is your return but discontent and economic shrinkage?" These are memorable words and sound very secretly in our ears, but when we come from profession to practice, we find that selfsame Sir James ignores or forgets them and while pampering Railways with crores does not think it material to provide even a tenth of what he would have thought essential to bring about what is denoted in the above lines. Similarly His Excellency in his Convocation Address to the Calcutta University has expressed himself admirably thus—"We want Indian men, and not Indian men only as labourer seaders but as who will turn their attention to industrial enterprise and equip themselves for a great industrial regeneration in India. We want to see men devote themselves to scientific research..." but somehow or other seems unable or powerless to influence the framing of the Annual Budget in such a way as will help Indian to 'equip themselves for a great industrial regeneration in India' and 'to lay the foundations of a scheme for progressive industrial development in India.' Nothing has been done in this year's budget to remove the brand of illiteracy from 94 per cent of the Indian population, which makes a sad contract with 1·8 per cent in England and Wales, 1·6 per cent in Scotland, 17·4 per cent in Ireland and 7·7 per cent in the United States and provides a sadder commentary 150 year's British Rule in India. In the words of Director of Statitics, "Education is of sovereign importance, because it is the key to employment and prosperity, and indeed to all national advance." Again, "It seems to me that we must completely overhaul our educational policy. We seem committed to it." Still again, "the importance of more and better education as a means of improving the effectiveness of our industrial power can scarcely be over-estimated." In order that the importance of importing "more and better education" to youths be realised, it seems necessary that these be in charge of education in India some such Enthusiast as the Director of Statistics proclaimed himself to be. Without such a giving hand it looks improbable that we shall soon make any, headway but headway we must make, if or we are to improve our position in the comity of nations.

The Indian point of view in the matter of education is that even with the present amount spent on education we ought to be able to extend education. So much expenditure on 'inspection' and so much sunk in bricks and mortar is not all utilised to the best possible purpose. If inspecting staff be reduced a little and the reduction in expenditure so effected be made to secure better teachers and if the expenditure on building be not considered essential for securing efficiency, there can be no doubt that a greater percentage with the present scale of expenditure can be made to learn the three R's and some practical science and art, without which education in modern times cannot be said to be complete.

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A SUM-UP.

Now the effect of war on Indian Trade and Industry may be summed up. (1) War stimulated the export of commodities from India. This was done under Government control. Therefore the prices of goods could not rise as much as justified by Demand. On the other hand prices of imports rose very high. In 1917-18 we paid 28 crores more for our imports and received only 17 crores more for our exports, although exports were greater by far in quantity than imports, thus suffering a loss of 11 crores. (2) So far as changes in the direction of trade are concerned war cut off supplies from enemies and enabled us to do greater trade with the British Empire, the United States and Japan. Trade between India and U. S. A. increased by 200 per cent and between India and Japan by 400 per cent as compared with pre-war years. We exported 7 per cent more of manufactured goods as before the war. (3) Demand on the part of Great Britain and the Allies for Indian goods created an unprecedentedly large balance in favour of India. Since there were restrictions on imports of gold and silver, it had to be lent in England. This meant that exports were mainly financed by India. This created currency difficulties consequent on a large issue of currency notes. Silver had to be imported and mints had to keep on working day and night. The stress of war prompted hoarding. These factors combined to make the situation very hard. The Exchange rate rose step by step from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1—5, 1—6, and 1—8*d.* the present rate The rise in the rate of exchange was essential owing to rise in the price of silver. The present rate means that for every rupee or a rupee's worth of goods tendered in India we can get 1*s.* 8*d.* in England or by giving in exchange one rupee's worth of goods we can get goods worth 1*s.* 8*d.* while formerly we got only 1*s.* 4*d.*'s worth of goods. This will encourage imports of foreign goods. This will react adversely on our trade and industry. On the other hand this rate of exchange will be an advantage to all those who have to make payments in England for interest, capital and other things. In order to make a payment of £ 100 we are now required to give Rs. 1,200 while formerly we had to pay Rs. 1,500.

4. Foreign demand coupled with bad seasons in India brought about a very great rise in prices. This rise in prices has adversely affected the position of the masses. Since prices in India are linked with prices in the world and the latter must remain high for some time to come, the former will also rule at a high level. Incomes do not seem to have risen in the same proportion. Since rise in prices is one of the root causes of present discontent, it behoves the Government of the country to attack the problem of subsistence for the masses and solve it in a way that will lead to ultimate prosperity of the country. This can be done only by encouraging industrial development and bringing about diversification of employment which will advance incomes more than the rise in prices. This is the only way of allaying the prevailing discontentment and enabling the loyal and law-abiding inhabitants to lead a life of mental with bodily ease.

5. War has demonstrated to the hilt that Industrial development can successfully be brought about by Government help and encouragement. In order to promote what is called "effectiveness of industry" the whole system of education has to be remodelled. Greater expenditure on education and sanitation must be sanctioned. Without this our industrial future cannot be promising. In fact education, more and better education, education on sound principles, practical and scientific education is the only solvent of our complicated and complex problem.

6. Co-operation and confidence between the people and Government is an essential of all progress not only in the political sphere but in economic, commercial and financial spheres also. We require encouragement, guiding and help and this should be available to us with a regard to our own interests alone. If we can command this, our own future as well as the future of the Empire of which we form a part and with which we want to forge an everlasting link of mutual good will, will be amply assured.

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THE

Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically, or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever be enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A SOCIOLOGICAL CAUSERIE.

The Gospel of Positivism.*

By Mr. MANOHAR LAL ZUTSHI, M. A.

THIS is the last book of Mr. Frederic Harrison—the final product of a long, strenuous and honourable career of authorship. "Bidding farewell to history, biography and letters," says the distinguished writer, "I wish to gather up some of the attempts to teach the people—which now for more than fifty years has been the serious purpose of my life." The present volume is the expansion and culmination of the *Creed of a Layman*, which along with the other three volumes of Mr. Harrison's Miscellanies was reviewed in these pages some years back. The first and the more important part consists of 12 lectures dealing with such subjects as Ethics, Family Life, the State, the Economic Problem, the Problem of Industry, from the standpoint of Positivism, and an elaborate defence of Comte against the criticism of John Stuart Mill, while the second part consists of a number of inaugural addresses delivered at Newton Hall from 1881 to 1884. No one can doubt now that Positivism as a religion has failed. In 1882, as appears from his inaugural address of that year, entertained certain sanguine expectations of its success, but they were doomed to disappoint. Yet it is equally true that though Comte failed to create a new religion, the

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* *On Society*, By Frederic Harrison (Macmillan).

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best that was in his thought and the thought of his disciples has become and is becoming a part of the common heritage of Western Humanity. "Humanity is characterised," says Comte in his *Polity*, "by the *independence* as well as the *convergence* of the individuals or families of which she is composed. The latter condition, convergence, is that which secures order; but the former independence, is no less essential to progress. Both are *alike urgent*." The principles of Biology misunderstood, misinterpreted and misapplied to the social life of Humanity, gave birth to that cruel doctrine of unlimited competition and the survival of the stronger in the struggle for existence, which after a successful career of rapine in the non-European world, under the guidance of philanthropic civil servants and smiling company promoters, have culminated in the terrible disaster of the Great War, and compelled the people of the West to realize, almost inspite of themselves that the principles of convergence and co-operation are as necessary for the well being of humanity as the principles of independence and individualism. The idea of the League of Nations is perhaps the first visible fruit of this change in the angle of vision of the leaders of the West. Let us hope that the value of the principles of convergence and co-operation preached by August Comte in Europe sixty years ago, and by the Hindu thinkers thousands of years before, will now be realised in the West, and the unlovely theory of commercial competition will give place to a sense of collective responsibility and a desire for the use of the organised power of Humanity for the needs of the race.

Civilization has been mainly a crusade against the weaknesses and follies of the natural man, and how to obtain rational sanction for the principles of morality, how to reconcile self with unself, is the everlasting problem of ethics. Positivism seeks to solve the problem by trying to show that to live for others is the natural way of living, that human nature is so organised that this is the only way of living a life at once free, complete, harmonious, happy." This is the moral theory of Comte, enunciated in his own lucid way by Mr. Frederic Harrison in his first lecture on the *Ethics of Human sm.* He says :—

"This of course rests on a theory. Every religious scheme must have a doctrine of human nature, as well as a code of duty. What is the scientific doctrine of the moral problem? It is this :

"Man as all ethical analysis combines to prove, is a composite organism made up of very various propensities which stir him to everything he does. Some of these are self-regarding; some of them regard others. Of the desires we may say : those which regard self are (1) the more numerous, (2) the more energetic, (3) the more constant.

"On the other hand the desires which regard others, though fewer, weaker, and less imperious are :—

1. More able to give permanent satisfaction.

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2. Can alone keep a permanent ascendency.

3. Can alone be indulged freely without bringing us into collision with our fellows.

"That's to say, more appetite, the simplest of all appetites, that of self-preservation, affects us all, men, women, and children, every day, and with most of us in a civilized state several times in each day. If not satisfied, it affects us to madness or extreme violence, and till it is satisfied more or less, the other human attributes are distorted or paralysed. There are many such personal appetites :—

1. That for food, air, nourishment of the body.
2. That towards mating with our kind.
3. That impelling us to breed and rear children.
4. The desire to destroy, overcome or contend.
5. The desire to construct, but together, devise, and make the beautiful or the useful.
6. The desire to have power over others.
7. The desire to win the approval of others.

"In other words, the instinct of nutrition, of sex, of parenthood, of destruction, of construction, of ambition, of vanity. These seven are here placed in the order of their descending vehemence and increasing social dignity. The most common, the most imperious, and the most purely personal, the craving for food, stands at the bottom of the scale, sexual love leads on to higher moral uses and the case of offspring to higher ; construction which is industry is nobler but less violent than the passion for removing what is evil or troublesome, and not so liable to frightful abuse ; and the desire to win the approval of others is usually nobler than the desire of controlling others. Both are liable to odious depravations, but both may be converted to great social ends.

"The instincts which impel us to seek satisfaction out of self in the good of others are not seven but three. They are far less imperious and occupy a smaller part of our lives, They are :

1. Attachment for our equals and colleagues.
2. Respect for our superiors, teachers, guides.
3. Benevolence, sympathy, charity in the Apostle's sense—the desire to feel for, help, please each and all.

"These instincts towards promoting the good of others, or of impelling us towards others are steadily active apart from the moment of fruition. They give us a far higher and more enduring satisfaction. They may become a ruling motive without disturbing the harmony of our nature. And they may be indulged to any limit without bringing us into conflict with our fellows.

"A life of selfish appetite cannot be lived without constant disturbance within and risk of perpetual conflict with others. It is only a wild beast, and a wild beast of superior strength and ferocity, which can

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.ive a life of consistent indulgence of appetite. A tiger in the jungle or a gorilla kills its prey, and gorges itself, seeks its mate, feeds its cubs till they can kill for themselves, and wars on all things living till it meets its match, or dies of starvation and isolation.

"A man who tries such a life of wild beast is shortly brought up and put in restraint. If he is to live like a man, in human society, he must be faithful, respectful, helpful and affectionate in some degree, to some persons under some conditions, or the gallows and the prison ends his career of violence. If he simply desires to indulge his lower sensual appetites, he must get the means of self-indulgence, by industry, co-operation with others and some social qualities, or he will be an outcast and an object of suspicion, dislike and hostility to his fellowmen. If his life is to be really adequate, happy, and free he must live in the social spirit conforming to the true life of men about him, helping loving, and in sympathy with the great sum of human life around him."

And the Positivist ideal of Government, the main features of which are summed up in the following quotation, is a combination of the old Liberal *Laissez faire* and modern socialism:

"The Positivist utopia of good Government then would be that—all hereditary and class institutions being eliminated, the sphere of Government strictly limited, and a universal education being established—the people would be content to trust the temporal management of material interests to trained experts subject to these conditions:

1. That they have no great military force to compel obedience.
2. That their measures and appointments shall be submitted to ample public review before they are finally ratified.
3. That complete freedom of speech and criticism be a strict *sine qua non*.
4. That the budget be noted by a Chamber elected by manhood suffrage.
5. That the Government be directly responsible and removable by proper machinery: but not by a chance vote of a miscellaneous assembly."

The following severe but just denunciation of modern Industrial methods will be appreciated by none more than the Indians, whose country has been subject to this lust of exploitation during the past 150 years:

"Industry exerted in a sordid selfish spirit leads to widespread social degradation. It becomes a search after wealth and material products in utter disregard of the producers and even of the very society that is to consume. The erection of this greed into a sham philosophical gospel of selfishness (called Political Economy) which teaches men that their duty to society is to be selfish, greedy, unsympathetic, to believe mankind uniformly actuated by low material objects, and society to exist for a low material object. * * *

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"And then followed the degradation of beauty, charm, health, repose, and spontaniety of life: the monotony and vulgarity of human existence in those countries and places which Industrialism has seized as its own, crushing man and blasting the face of nature, herding men in vast workhouses that they call cities, stunting the race and afflicting it with a new tribe of physical diseases, unsexing the life of women, and grinding the first years of childhood, and stirring up our politicians to wild raids upon the East and the South, till we become hordes of financial and mercantile buccaneers. Lastly there lies against modern industry the peculiar atrocity of reviving in a barbarous form the slavery of the black races: a crime what is far from extinct, and is hardly now kept within bounds under the pressure of the thirst for wealth."

In his lecture on *A State Church* Mr. Frederic Harrison says that "no opinion on any matter, social, religious or scientific, shall, on any condition whatever, be officially adopted by the State or be protected by the State, or be placed by the State under any sort of public disability, or be invested with any sort of State precedence, and that State Church, State disabilities, and persecution, all stand on the same footing." We believe that these statements need some qualification. They might be true as general statements yet occasions will arise, particularly in the departments of Hygiene and Medicine, when certain scientific opinions have to be officially accepted by the State and the contrary opinions have to be discarded. We see this to-day, for instance, in the case of Vaccination and Inoculation. In the same way it may sometimes happen that the religious opinions of a certain group of *men, e. g.* certain religious doctrines held Goreman Catholics in the days of Elizabeth, or certain beliefs associated at one time with the Wahabu sect, may prove dangerous to the existence of the State and compel the placing of that group under certain disabilities.

We have written enough we believe to show the serious, earnest and thoughtful character of the book, and we hope that even in these days when the book market of the world is flooded with torrents of trash, which so often is not even smart, it will meet with cordial welcome at the hands of the reflective and the descerning student.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

"Indian Constitutional Reform Viewed in the Light of History."*

By Mr. RAGHUKUL TILAK, B. A., M. R. A. S., F. R. G. S.

MR. VINCENT SMITH has written a book with the above title dealing with the question of Indian reform. Mr. Smith is well-known as a historian and scholar, and his *Early History of India* and *Asoka* have made his name quite familiar to students of Indian history. Any observations on current politics by a man of his judg-

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ment, experience and acquaintance with India are, therefore, worth attention. Mr. Smith's general view about the question of Indian reform seems to be that Indians have been promised too much in a hurry, and that British statesmen would best show their statesmanship by withholding all or at least a large part of what has been promised. He even tries to absolve the British nation from the obligation of acting up to the pledge given on August 20th, 1917. For says he "As Sir Harry Stephen correctly argues, 'according to all precedent Mr. Montagu's pronouncement bound no one outside the government, and was as far as from being a national promise as are the contents of a king's speech.' That exposition of the constitutional position is still, in December 1918, strictly accurate." Whatever be the lesson of precedent and constitutional practice, Mr. Smith ought to understand that British statesmen will never for a moment think of repudiating the pledge given by Mr. Montagu. They are too keenly alive to the impression that such a attempt must make on the concerted Indians.

In his second chapter, after giving some irrelevant facts about the form of government in ancient India, Mr. Smith makes the sweeping statement that "Ninety-nine out of a hundred Indians, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, cherish as their ideal of government that of the virtuous Raja, who works hard, etc." He forgets that whatever might have been the conditions in the past, there are few Indians now whose hearts do not throb in sympathy with the political aspirations of their educated compatriots, and who do not rejoice in the vision of a self-governing India. Even if there be some in this country who regard autocracy as the best form of government, it is because that is the only form of government under which they have enjoyed peace and civil order during the past two centuries. The form of government is only a means to certain ends. If peace and order can be secured under any other form of government,—and they can best be secured under a government controlled by the governed,—there is no reason why the so-called lovers of autocracy should not welcome it as heartily. Regarding Indians as traditional lovers of autocracy, Mr. Smith also fears that if the proposed reforms are carried into effect, the "golden link" of loyalty and sentiment that subsists between the King-Emperor and the people of India might be broken. "One of the gravest defects of the Report" (*i.e.* the Report on Indian Constitutional Reform), says he, "is its failure to say a word about the King-Emperor or to show the slightest appreciation of the immense political value of the loyal homage to his person." There is nothing to justify Mr. Smith's fear. Nor is it easy to see how the authors of the Report could have added to India's sentiments of loyalty and homage by talking about the King-Emperor and the political value of being devoted to him. I hardware to suggest

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. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1919.

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that the surest way of placing India's attachment to the King's person on a permanent basis would be to inspire confidence in Indians by giving them an equal political status with His Majesty's other subjects.

Mr. Smith then proceeds to discuss the "diversity of races and religions" in India. He seems to believe that India's religious differences will always stand in the way of her becoming a great nation, and hence of her even being able to rule herself. "The religious unity," he says, "even of Hindu India is so far from being complete that opportunities for conflict abound, and form a serious obstacle to political unification." As a proof of the religious intolerance of the Hindus he gives the "historical instance" of the persecutions of Jains in the past. But we have to remember that the persecution of the Hughenots in France was even more implacable than that of the Jains in India; and that did not prevent France from evolving complete religious toleration in course of time. He also observes that "serious Hindu and Muhammadan riots in modern times have been innumerable." But so have been also demonstrations of unity and fraternity. The invitation of Hindus to the Mohammadan pulpit, the participation of Hindus and Mohammadans in each other's festivals, the self-imposed abstention at places of Mohammadans from cow-killing——all these show that the right seed has been planted in the right place, and that the plant of unity will thrive and blossom in spite of all the withering blights.

In the chapter headed, "Caste and Caste disputes," Mr. Smith considers the hackneyed question of caste in India. He traces the roots of the system into the dim past and draws upon his knowledge of ancient India to prove that a population broken up into sections differing not only in blood, language, social customs, and creeds, but also in their ideas of morality, does not readily coalesce into a political unity." At the same time he himself observes that the necessities of railway travelling and the advantages of a copious water supply have tended to soften the rigours of caste system. "Ingenious pundits," says he, "are not slow to find texts, or to invent legal fictions in order to justify the deviation from ancestral custom." But will not a regard for common political and social interests call forth even a stronger spirit of compromise and adaptation? We are sure it will. Mr. Smith invents the term, "vain visions," for the bright hopes and expectations that inspire the well-intentioned authors of the Report. "Do the high officials," he asks, "charged with the Government of India, who propose deliberately to disturb the contentment of three hundred millions of Asiatic people, mostly ignorant, superstitious, fanatical, and intensely suspicious, realize what they are doing? Have they counted the cost? Once the disturbance of content has been fairly started among the untutored masses, no man can tell how far the fire may spread. Dis-

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content will not be directed to the political objects so dear to Mr. Montagu and Mr. Curtis. It will be turned fiercely upon the casteless, impure foreigner, and inflamed by the cry of 'religion in danger' will attract every disorderly element and renew the horrors of 1857." I do not understand what Mr. Smith means by "disturbance of content." If the phrase means political life and activity, then such a thing has already taken place in India and we will welcome more and more of it as it comes. "The disturbance of content" might take the direction predicted by Mr. Smith, if the Reform Bill falls short of the expectations raised by the pronouncement, and not, if the question of Indian reform is dealt with in a liberal and sympathetic spirit. The learned writer prophesies a gloomy future for the ryots and the landed aristocracy alike of India, and concludes the chapter with the remark. " Is it too much to expect that the readers of this chapter will agree that the authors of the Report are at times misled by " vain visions " and in so far are unsafe guides ?" I venture to say that the chapter rather exhibits a lack of imagination and a superfluity of caution characteristic of the typical conservative Anglo-Indian who is always an obstacle in the way of literal reforms in India.

Under the heading " The proposals of the Report and suggestions from other sources," Mr. Smith gives a ghast summary of the Report and considers some suggestion from other sources, specially those from the Aga Khan and Mr. Vyasa Rao. Apart from a sentimental stand-point, the Aga Khan's suggestion as to the appointment of a royal viceroy is not of much significance. Mr. Vyasa Rao's proposal that in the Imperial Legislative Council voting should be restricted to non-officials and that "in the event of the non-official verdict being rejected by the Government of India, the difference should be referred to the Secretary of State for final decision," obviously offers a better solution of the problem than the useless make shift of a Council of State. There is nothing new in the suggestions offered for the reform of the India Office, and the management of Provincial Finance. Mr. Smith is opposed to diarchy and urges greater autonomy for provinces than they enjoy at present. Mr. Smith is of course partial in his treatment of the question of public services, specially in that of the I. C. S. His discussion is based on two fundamental assumptions : firstly, that India cannot do without " civilians " and must therefore offer as many facilities for them as possible ; secondly that any proposals to secure specific appointments for Indians are unconstitutional since they offend against the Charter Act of 1833, in discriminating against Europeans. I will not stop to examine these two assumptions, as there is not likely to be much misunderstanding about them, Mr. Smith himself being a retired "Civilian." I should, however, like to say

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one thing about the question of public services which is this, that the less the authorities in England or any commissions appointed by them meddle with the Indian public services, the better it is for India. It is a problem which can best be dealt with by the Government of India itself.

Mr. Smith next considers the question of franchise. With regard to the demand of franchise for women his observation that "the suggestion does not appear to have been made by anybody else" (except Aga Khan), is no longer true. The activities of the female deputation in England clearly show that there will be great discontent if franchise is not granted to Indian Women. As to the question of franchise in general, Mr. Smith rightly says—

"General agreement exists that the conditions of India preclude the universal demarcation of purely territorial areas for constituencies as the basis of the franchise." But these difficulties and others which Mr. Smith mentions can be completely overcome, as Mr. Sastri has so ably shown in his exposition of the Congress-League Scheme, partly by communal representation and partly by appointment of representatives by nomination along with retainings territorial electrates. Next follows a chapter of "criticism." While condemning the authors of the Report for trying to impose foreign institutions on India, Mr. Smith remarks, "If Statesmen come to the conclusion that such Government (*i.e.*, responsible Government), whatever be its merits elsewhere, cannot be fitted to India, and they decline accordingly to force it upon that land, their decision will be readily accepted both by the rank and file of the members of Parliament and by the constituencies who will not hesitate to follow the guidance on a difficult and unfamiliar subject offered by trusted leaders." We may summarily acquit the British Nation of the charge of forcing self-Government on India. The agitation for self-Government began in the heart of India herself, and it was not without a good deal of hesitation and indecision that British statesmen did at last choose to respond to that agitation. As to the statesmen who think that self-Government cannot suit to India, I think there are few of them outside the Sydenham clique. Of these reactionaries Mr. Montagu has aptly said that their scheme is "the scheme of bureaucrats, for the consumption of bureaucrats, and intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy."

Mr. Smith might have spared himself the trouble of proving that 'responsible Government' in the parliamentary sense is unsuited to India. It may be so. Nobody wants parliamentary Government in India with its party warfare and factious disputes. So far as India is concerned Mr. Smith has himself correctly defined responsible Government as "Connoting a Government sensitive to Indian public opinion expressed through elective assemblies and other channels." India,

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however, will never be satisfied with Mr. Smith's low standard of "sensitiveness" betrayed by his subsequent remarks. With regard to fiscal autonomy, the author is perfectly right when he says that it cannot be refused if England makes up her mind to give complete self-Government to India. But there is no ground for his remark that "the general Indian sentiment is not in favour of progress at the cost of taxation" Indian politicians are bound to "talk loudly" when railways and soldiers are pampered at the expense of sanitation, education and other primary needs of the country. They will never grudge expenditure that is essential for India's development.

Among the "Constructive suggestions" to which the author devotes his last chapter, there are few, as he himself admits, that are original. I shall deal with a few of them that are worth consideration. Most of us would support his proposal to drop the plan of sending out frequent committees or commissions "to deal with the political progress of India." Provision should however be made for future appointment of such commissions whenever the need of them should arise. Mr. Smith also advocates the separation of Burma from India, but he has given no substantial reasons for the change except that it would be a sort of relief to the overburdened Government of India. But if, as the new policy indicates, the interference of the central Government in provincial affairs is reduced to a minimum, Burma may as well stay within the Indian Empire as go out of it. Moreover, Aga Khan's ideal of a great South Asiatic federation with the Government of India at its head is certainly more pleasant to contemplate than Mr. Smith's proposal to transform the governor of Burma into a separate governor-general with many smaller satraps under him. His advice as to the ways in which the importance of the King-Emperor may be brought home to the people of India and his plan of appointing a Royal Viceroy with certain changes in the machinery of the Central Government are matters of sentiment and detail and to my mind have little political significance. He is rather pessimistic in expatiating upon the inefficiency of Municipal bodies in keeping up a high standard of sanitation, but looks with favour on an attempt to revive village autonomy in the form of panchayats. I have already considered Mr. Smith's attitude toward the Indian Civil Service. As to the training imparted to the I. C. S. men in England, he thinks that a separate college, a modernised Haileybury, would prove more efficient than the universities.

The general impression that one gets after going through Mr. Smith's book is that the author has made a sincere attempt to deal with the question of Indian reform in an impartial spirit. But we must remember that he has been a member of the bureaucracy himself; and if the bureaucrat in him often gets the better of the historian, it need not occasion surprise.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

English Poetry by Indian writers.

The Bengali Book of English Verse. Edited by Theodore Douglas Dunn. (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay, Calcutta and London) 1918.

The Feast of Youth. By Harindranath Chattopadhyay (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras) 1918.

The Moth and the Star and other Poems. By Profulla R. Das (Thacker, Spink & Co. Calcutta) 1918.

The Denied. By Basudeb (The Poet Lore Company, The Gorham Press, Boston, U. S. A.) 1918.

The Bliss of a Moment. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar (The Poet Lore Company, The Gorham Press, Boston, U. S. A.) 1919.

Harp of the Heart. By A. S. Bhandarkar (the Poet Lore Company, The Gorham Press, Boston, U. S. A.) 1919.

Ram Sharma's Poems. Edited by Debendra Chandra Mullick (P. N. Mallick, 69 Serpentine Lane, Calcutta) 1919.

The Silken Tassel. By Ardeshir F. Khabardar (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras) 1919.

Krishna's Flute. By Nanikram Vasanmal Thadani (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay, Calcutta and London) 1919.

Mornings with Zoroaster. By Ruby (Maneck Pithawala, 3 Arsenal Road, Poona) 1918.

In his *Poets of the Democracy*, Mr. G. C. Martin writes :—"A man always reveals himself most perfectly in the speech of his childhood. Round the words his mother used the tenderest of associations cluster and through these he can most effectively utter messages that are universal in their import, for he can touch the heart of humanity most perfectly. Many of the poets are like David in Saul's armour when they touch another tongue. This is notably the case with Burns whose English verse never equals the exquisite beauty of Scots." Similar sentiments are to be found elsewhere and if there be any truth in them there can be little or no justification for Indians to attempt poems in any foreign tongue. During the period of Mussalman rule in India thousand of Indians wrote verses in Persian. Yet not one of them is mentioned in any history of Persian literature. Excepting Joseph Conrad—who has confined himself to prose fiction—there is not one foreign name which may be said to occupy any position in English literature. And yet with all these stern facts before them scores of Indians

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have written and are writing to-day English verses and some of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's poems have already figured prominently in more than one recent anthology.

The Bengali Book of English Verse is an excellent anthology edited by that indefatiguable anthologist—Mr. T. D. Dunn—which is enriched with a luminous foreword from the pen of Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Mr. Dunn's compilation is well conceived and very carefully put together and offers in a small compass several of the best poems in English composed by Bengalees. But Mr. Dunn takes the same view as Mr. Martin whom we have quoted in the preceding paragraph. In discussing "The value of this poetical work" he writes:—"In the larger world of literature, it can hold no distinctive place. It is reasonable to expect from an Eastern poet something that a Western cannot give. But the reader of this literature will look in vain for anything that is peculiarly and exclusively oriental. The Bengalee writers under consideration appear to be at work in some strangely neutral zone of the imagination and to be uninfluenced by the colour and atmosphere of their environment." A great deal of this is true not only of the Bengalee writers of English verse but also of other Indians as well; and only those few may hope to survive for any time who while anglicising their vocabulary have not anglicised their ideas. In the poems of the nine Indian writers of English verse enumerated above, the reader will find ample scope for testing the value of their work by—it is submitted—the correct criterion we have laid down.

Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

WE welcome an abridged, popular edition of Mr. Abraham Flexner's standard work—*Prostitution in Europe*—which was originally issued in 1914 (Grant Richards, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) and was the first scientific treatise on the subject. In the edition under notice the whole of the scientific argument is preserved in its integrity but explanatory notes, references and illustrative examples have been omitted. The omissions and excisions have made the work better adapted for popular reading and it should appeal to all students of the problem of the greatest social evil in Western countries.

Professor Maurette's *Everyone's Geography of France* (Librairie Hachette, 79 Boulv. St. Germain, Paris)—rendered into English and brought out embellished with 113 illustrations, plans and

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maps—is a capital little book and presents within a short compass all the aspects of the subject—topographical, physiographical, commercial and political. How we wish there was an equally accurate and satisfactory book on Indian geography!

Woman is the topic of the day both in the West and the East, and there can be no subject of greater importance than their position and future. Dr. A. J. Schofield's *The Mind of a Woman* (Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, London) is welcome as throwing light on a subject on which the writer speaks with authority, qualified as he is by experience and knowledge. It is a thoughtful and scholarly work.

Dr. B. B. Rogers published so far back as 1852 his translation of *The Clouds* of Aristophanes. It was republished in 1916, as part of his complete edition of the works of the greatest Greek comedian. It is now issued separately for the first time (G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London). It should be very welcome to those who do not know Greek, as it is a capital rendering. We hope translations of the other plays will soon follow.

The charms of London are inexhaustible and Mr. W. G. Bell in his *Unknown London* (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London) deals pleasantly and graphically with certain things in and aspects of the great metropolis which are not known even to the average Londoner. We need not enumerate them here But all interested in London will find Mr. Bell's book interesting. The 17 illustrations enhance the value of the letter-press.

The latest addition to the "Golden Treasury Series" (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) is *A Treasury of Seventeenth Century English Verse*, chosen and edited by Mr. H. J. Massingham. The period covered is from 1616 to 1640. The editor's Introduction is interesting, while his choice is judicious. Altogether it is about the best anthology of the seventeenth century verse in English.

The World and Democracy is an American compilation (Rand McNally & Co., New York, U. S. A.) the object of which is to teach patriotism through literature. The editors have laid under contribution a large amount of war literature and made from it excellent selections which are arranged in six parts with introductions and notes. Altogether a useful book.

Though a compilation from standard treatises, Mr. M. H. Nanavati's *Comparative Study of Modern Constitutions* is a useful little book, both for purposes of reference and study. It is accurate and well put together and gives within a hundred pages or so a great deal of valuable information, not easily accessible to the students in this country.

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I—*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*I will hear*. (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literature.)*

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view, but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*.)

Kayastha Provincial Conference, Central Provinces and Central India.

THE Provincial Kayastha *Sabha* of Central Provinces and Central India held its sittings on the 26th and 27th December, 1919, at Khandwa under the Presidency of the Hon'ble Beohar Raghubirsingh, a premier Rais of Jubbulpore.

After the delivery of a thoughtful printed address of the President elect, the proceedings commenced and resolutions were proposed and passed. The minority of these were the resolutions which were effecting the weal and woe of the Kayastha community and which were allowed to suffer the fate of pendency of action for want of proper co-operation by the members of the community. I am glad to inform the Kayastha Public that they were put to a critical test and brought into a practical shape. This will appear from the following summary of the resolutions :—

(1) To procure 400 subscribers for *Kayastha Hitkari*, 50 already procured.

(2) To render all possible help to the Allahabad Kayastha Pathshala College Fund with the result that more than Rs. 2,000 were subscribed.

(3) To open a Kayastha Boarding House at Indore the central place of the Kayastha population in Malwa for which Rs. 1,200 were subscribed.

(4) The opening of small co-operative societies at different places was sanctioned. This work was given to a strong influential small committee having full insight into the subject.

(5) A *Chitragupt* fund was established with a clear understanding that the money would be utilised in awarding scholarships to the poor Kayastha boys, who wish to compete for higher education and in helping the poor Kayastha widows.

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The subscriptions realised in this behalf amounted to Rs. 2,500. It is to be noted that the question of inter-dining was practically solved by a *Kacha* dinner having been held in which all joined without exception. An inter-marriage was arranged between a Saksena and a Kulshresht Sub-Sections of the Kayastha Community.

The most important of the rest of the resolutions was the appointment of a committee to control the existing scattered funds in the Province. One who was present there must have been impressed with the earnestness of the Kayasthas present and must have realised the impropriety of the general remarks of their lofty talks and no actions levelled against them in the past.

The credit of notable success must be due to the organizers who should be congratulated on their achievement which augurs well for the future. But to pay homage to truth one cannot suppress the fact which was evident to even a casual observer that the conference greatly owed its exceptional successes to the untiring energy and tactful brain of the Tahsildar Munshi Asharfilal of Khandwa and the lively interest taken by the Hon'ble President in all the details from beginning to end.

The special feature of this conference was the attendance of *Parda-Nashin* ladies under strict *Parda* arrangements and their spontaneous offers of subscriptions to the different funds. Mrs. Asharfilal, Tahsildar, subscribed Rs. 51 to the Kayastha Pathshala College fund with a view to become a trustee. She demonstrated her liberality by offering Rs. 200 to the Pathshala for defraying the expenses of a capable man who may come to try his best to raise subscription for the Kayastha Pathshala in all the Districts of Central Provinces.

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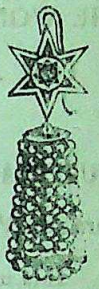

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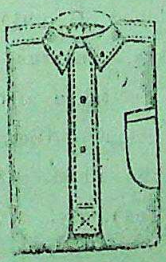

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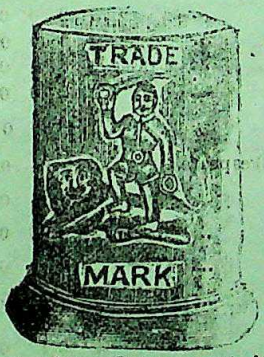

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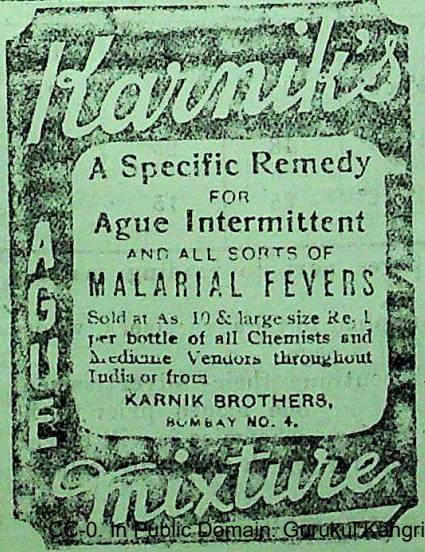

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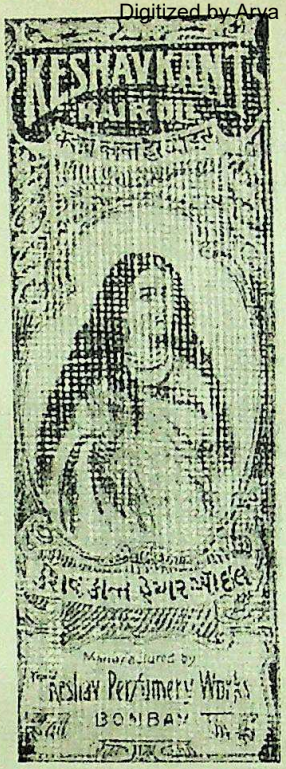

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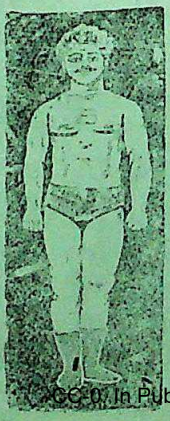

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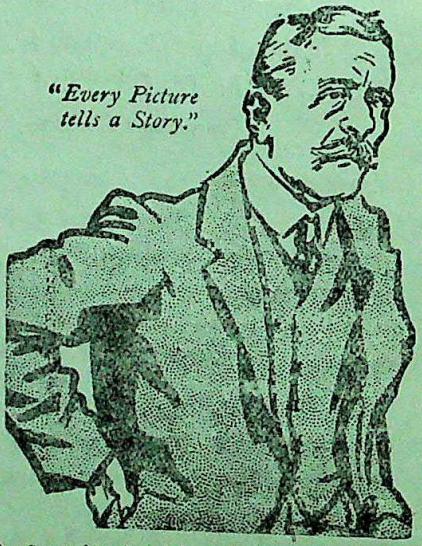

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THE

Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

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The Land of the Rising Sun.

By Mr. John Trist.

IN the British Isles, as well as in other European States much is made of Universities, their drill, their atmosphere, their scholarship—and yet as a matter of fact the only University that counts is the Universe, of which snippets are presented at the seats of learning rather than broad views and studies of that great whole of things we call the world, that is, the Earth-World.

Broader views of the kind of being, of the different races of mankind, of their idiosyncracies, and learning and philosophy would be greatly to the advantage of all concerned : India for example should be more freely and intelligently studied, if only because a homely experience teaches that those widely separated whether in space, or by race, more frequently than otherwise becomes most useful to one another.

In the various zones of our sphere—to be quite frank !—there are marked differences of type, physical and mental, with consequences that suitably follow. In the Temperate Zones there are characteristics that are absent from the Tropics, and both from the Arctic : yet are they all necessary one to another as are their several populations, a fundamental truth that only now and then leaps into the light. By

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the decree of nature, uniformity is disallowed, there is no standard but that which climate, soil, situation and history set up, and happy is the man who awaking to the fact, lives up to it, rejoicing in all aspects of the habitable world, as much of men as of things, of man and mind equally with matter. In brief, it is breadth of view, kindly toleration, vital sympathy, a bed-rock belief that men are what nature has made them that pays ; a wide view of nature is bound to determine a solidarity such as Earth has hardly yet dreamt of, when discord shall have retired before that fine ennobling concern which is the sun of the moral Heavens.

Concord ? Yes truly, indeed all races are beginning to realize its superb quality as fashioner of the unseen spirit. Concord ? Yes truly, indeed a beginning has been made in this direction—trade and commerce, and the law of exchanges demand it ; laugh at the so-called difficulties in the way ; while intellectual advance has been so realistic that no Wrangler would be tolerated who disdained his brother ; for ever in a commercial point of view the stranger within our gates may be as far superior to ourselves in some things as he may fall short in others. In nature the law of compensation holds a firm and honoured place: while natural History confirms the conviction that not only is it true that all being responds to its environment, but occasionally responds so handsomely that we rub our eyes and wonder we had not realized it before. Oh ! the riches and wisdom of the world, of which a large part is lost to us through obtuseness and a vulgar mind. Variety in unity is the tenor of life's teaching—and the greater the variety the grander the unity ; similarly opposite characters, dispositions and races, provided they submit to nature-control, go to heighten the result whether it be of matter or mind ; nor can any single individual, without loss or maiming, stand upon his dignity as superior ; indeed if he does he cancels the claim he makes, and of course misses the advantage to be derived from reciprocal interchange of products whether material or mental, of genius, character and attainment.

Our Planet is spacious, its products various, the different families of mankind differ one from another, and yet all useful, helpful, coworkers one with another in the great task of civilization. To us, we confess, it appears to be fool-hardy to wrap ourselves up in a contentment inspired by conceit to refuse to go farther afield for truth—preferring vulgar Treasure Truth, though Truth is Treasure above price. It is not as if any race or nation were in a state of perfectness. We are all as molten metal awaiting some final form. It is the privilege of Western peoples to be in close touch with the East ; both have a common origin presumably, the great Aryan race ; the experience of both is unique ; and what is to be constantly borne in mind is that West needs the East.

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To Indians we are indebted among other things, for a sterling and aggressive individuality, for hoary tradition, for poetry and for the Fable. Indeed, the Hitopadesa is believed by most Hindoo scholars to be the well-spring of all modern Fable, whether those of Easop, or La Fontaine and a host of others. The crop of Fable all over Europe has been a bounteous one, affording instruction, imparting a tranquil pleasure wherever it has come. In expressing the Britisher's gratitude for this class of writing we may include those who have equally been filled by it—Greece, Rome, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, China and Thibet, Japan and that once so great people, the dwellers in Palestine.

Both in their efforts to understand the laws of Nature, and in their poetry, the Hindoos are to be reckoned in the van of the worlds wise men. In the operations of nature the Hindoos found or thought they found a dual-central, the powers of nature being united together in pairs, such as "Day and Night, Dawn and Gloaming, Light and Darkness, Sun and Moon, Summer and Winter, Heaven and Earth."

What is greatly to their credit is that they searched for Truth most ardently, and were careful observers; in fact responding to the spectacular world around them, they set themselves the task of understanding it.

In "the Vedas" the most ancient party of the Brahmans while they are full of dark sayings and a rich symbolism some things at least are plain—mystical perhaps as all such first efforts were bound to be, mystical but containing truth in the germ. Assembled before the throne of the Almighty the angels humbly enquire what He himself was; only to be told "I have existed from Eternity, I am the great cause of everything that is in the East and West, the North and South, above and below. I am everything, older than everything. I am the Truth, the Spirit of creator, the Creator himself. I am Knowledge, and Holiness and Light, I am Almighty."

Compare this with "In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth!" and there can be no doubt which of these ascriptions is most true to nature, most honouring to the intelligence of the writer.

In the mythological poems "the Puranas" a good sprinkling of impersonations is found, proof positive of a keen interest in nature as of a curiosity that would know more about it.

One of the commonest symbols in India as it was in Egypt is the Lotus, which as an emblem of religion laid hold of Western races later, among the Greeks the Lotus appeared as a mystical boat, "which Hercules is said to have sailed over the ocean, a boat eupheniously named "The Cup of the Sun" as was natural under such skies. The Sun obsessed the Hindoo mind more than any other thing, and became the prevailing object of Hindoo worship and religion. In no

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fewer than 700 places the serpent, emblematical of the Sun from older time, was the object of worship. It is to be doubted whether any tribe or people, ever secured the end desired when they speculated upon the majesty and mystery of the Universe. In the Hindoo mind we are conscious of resolute strivings after the Truth; for while in the rock-cut temples of Elephanta Brahma the Creator-God is found, Vishnu the preserving-God and Seeva or Siva the destroying-God. This is a bold attempt to exalt a Tried-Deity. Hopeless apparently is the attempt to construct a system of Philosophy, or satisfactory creed out of the material to their hand; all that can apparently be said is that the Hindoo race were keenly in earnest to get at the truth; on Siva's or Seeva's cap, among other symbolical details are outlined a human skull and an infant-child.

And generally, in the Vedas, the Rig-Vedas and elsewhere there is a palpable endeavour to realize and embody the Creative Power in a Prosopopsia or Personification of nature; and probably some such personification would be set up in the minds and on the altars of most primitive peoples. It is well to remember that the Poem of Nature was already buried in man himself as well as outside him in the fabric and form of Universal being. In truth, the human mind is itself a garden with all sorts of imaginings as flowers springing-up, flowers depending like other flowers upon the atmosphere and soil in which they are found—fed as seed, and plant by their immediate environment, inseparably allied to feeling, thought, desire—to the expanding joys of Being.

Over the Hindoo two contrasted phenomena must have had special power, the Sun's heat, and the majestic Himalayas; some idea of the latter creeps out in a wild allegory in which the course of the Ganges through the fronts of the Himalayas is set forth;

From Heaven's height down rush'd she pouring upon Siva's sacred head!
Him, the goddess thought in scorn, with her resistless might to sweep,
By her fierce waves o'rborne, down to hills remotest deep.

An allegorical portraiture of "The cloud messenger" is irresistible;

"Nor think, dear cloud! a lover's vain belief
Has drawn this picture of her faithful grief;
Soon wilt thou plainly for thyself behold
The truth of all that I have sadly told.
By many a throb, her upward glancing eye.
Shall feel thy coming ere then yet art nigh
And 'neath long tresses tremble, as it beams
Like wind—swept lilies in the daring streams."

So highly prized by the western word is the "Book of good counsels" that several English translations have been made—to wit

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those of Sir William Jones, Dr. Wilkins, and Sir Edwin Arnold. It has moreover been rendered into Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Arabic as well as most of the vernacular dialects of India. Like the sun which rises in the East going westward so the fable takes a similar course. What Voltaire has said of the Fable has his usual point, "they are" he said "lessons of virtue whereas almost all history records the success of crime."

In the Hitopadesa we are introduced to a certain king who dwelt on the banks of the Ganges—a monarch renowned for wisdom and virtue, though his two sons were fast going to the bad. An assembly of wise men being convened to assist the king with their counsel a great sage Vishnu Sarana, arose, and in some measure dispelled the monarchs fear by directing his attention to the fact that his sons came of a good stock—adding to this, that as soon as the royal youths had come to years of discontent and Reason sat on the throne, they would be all right; moreover he offers his services as the instructor of the royal youths.

Upon the terraces of the palace in due course Teacher and taught were assembled :—

"Princes listen"! said the sage "the time of the wise is spent in the enjoyment of poetical writings, but that of fools, in dissipation, slumber, or strife; therefore for the amusement of your Highnesses I relate an admirable story of the crow and the tortoise." The young Princes answered "Sir! let it be told"! Proceeding at once to discourse upon "the acquisition of friends" the sage cunningly observed "that those without means and wealth if very friendly, speedily effect their purpose, like the crow, the tortoise, the deer and the mouse."

The sage's discourse extends to four chapters, but probably it was the narrative of the faithful Rajput that went home. In brief this is the story—a soldier presenting himself at the gate of King Sudralla, bade the Porter secure him an audience as he wanted employment. Introduced, eventually into the king's presence the soldier was asked what pay he required, which it transpired was a very large sum *viz*, 500 pieces of gold a day. The monarch was for refusing such a demand but was over-persuaded by his ministers, in order that, as they said, the king might see whether he deserved it. Circumstances changed mightily in his favour when it was found that Vira-Vara (the soldier) bestowed on half of his pay on the Gods, and one-fourth up on the poor retaining only what remained for his own use.

'Days passed away when one dark night the monarch heard the sound of passionate weeping below, and cried out,

"Ho there! who waits at the gate?"

"I replied the soldier, Vira-Vara.

"Go learn what means this weeping below!"

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Descending to find out the cause, Vira-Vara found a well-dressed female, weeping bitterly, whose name she said was "The King's fortune," that the king would die on the third day following, and that she was most distressed—continuing she said there was only one chance for the king which was that Vira-Vara should decapitate his own first-born, when the king might live for 100 years. The soldier did so, and afterwards took his own life in the temple where too was the king himself who would have taken his own life out of grief and dismay.

In the nick of time the king's "Good Fortune" stepped in, stayed the monarch's hand, restored Vira-Vara to life again and invested him with signal honour. What this narrative did not achieve the Fable of the crow and the tortoise effectually supplied. Indeed the burden of the whole of the first book of the Hitopadesa is the value of having many friends. In the last instance this is impressively shown, for when the tortoise is seized upon and bound by the hunter, all its friends plot together for its release. Down lies the antelope pretending to be dead, and the crow makes a faint of picking out its eyes ; and while the hunter hastes to make sure of his venison, the rat gnaws the cords asunder. In the end it is a case of 'saner girl pent'—the tortoise making for the pool of water, the crow trusting to his wings, both antelope and rat taking to their heels, so that the hunter is worsted on all counts.

What has been a loss to India and the whole world of old-time philosophizings and straightly conceits can never be known—any more than the first outline of new place or the play of primeval forces and yet sure we are that in earliest ages there must have been a heavy crop of intellectual subtleties—of metaphors, similes, bold impersonations, symbols and allegories. Under the one word Sanscrit it lies buried fathoms deep, never to be recalled. The loss is colossal without hope of redemption, although for countless ages in all probability there was no thought worthy the name, neither means of reproducing those fleeting pictures in the dawn of human life which would be worth a jewelled crown to possess to-day. That they did exist is clear from the unfolding panorama of nature under the law of evolution still something of it remains in human life and society to-day which is the fruitage and harvest of these hidden mysteries and meanings which apparently are never to be recalled. It was in the dark ages that mind received its first awakening; novelty unspeakable, weird surprizes, unexpected happenings alike in the field of nature and of human society, the result this wonderful Universe as we see it to-day, and a race of men, still imperfect, but making rapid strides the way man must go. What a romance it all is! how great our indebtedness to an ancestor of whom we can now learn next to nothing, though they bequeathed to us all that makes life worth living, hopes, and aims, and strivings and resolves, making it possible, there in the views of nature, with a discipline that must have been severe—making it possible for the race to-day to unite in one settled purpose of brotherly kindness, mutual help and colossal conquest, not merely of seas and the air, of materialism in all its hesitating forms, but of self-control, self-realization, brother with brother helping, and even the stranger within our gates.

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Psychical Research.

By Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc., (LOND.)

WE do not propose to question here the 'results' of psychical research, nor to discuss the veridity of spiritualistic phenomena: but rather to ask what ultimate significance for us might lie in empirical proof of the survival of personality and the existence of an 'other world, beyond,' or 'next life.' It should be observed that in any case the significance of such a proof of an after life will be practical rather than theoretical or religious: and, on the other hand, that there is nothing of necessity 'materialistic' in the belief that individual consciousness is lost at death. Religion, in the truest sense of the word does not necessarily connote a belief in a soul that can 'pass on' and function apart from the 'trammels of the flesh.'

A soul * that could function—as the individual functions in the other world described by spiritualists—without any body, is inconceivable. Not even a personal God could be bodiless, or without parts and passions. If the 'soul' survives, it can only be in association with a vehicle. Recognizing this, the Hindus postulate in man beside the gross (*sthula*) body a subtle (*sukshma*) body which forms the vehicle of personality after death (we need not discuss here the question of ultimate reincarnation, since the argument covers equally a temporary or a permanent sojourn in the other world). Any other world, in fact, must be also a material world—according to spiritualists, indeed, it is quite obviously conditioned, and the continued distinction of subject, and object, of me and thee, is the basis of their satisfaction in it—and although its matter will be of another order than that which is apparent to our present physical organs of sense, it must appear, as by all accounts it does appear substantial enough to beings who function by it. This will be true of any heaven, however high, and for all conceivable personal gods or angels. Nor can any actual heaven be described as supernatural: though it may interpenetrate or underly the world we know, or be determined by other dimensions, it will still be a part of the cosmos and subject to casuality.

No knowledge or experience of the occult is essential to faith in a truly spiritual world. The spiritual world, however, which is the meaning of existence and in which we live and move and have our being, is not the next conditioned world, or any heaven or god-home, or a place of endless survival in time (even if we grant such a survival): but a timeless

* By soul I mean the psychological factors of personality, by body the physical factors, and by spirit the ultimate informing energy or breath of life.

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and spaceless ground as near to and as far from an 'after life' as it is from this life. This spiritual world of the Absolute is logically as far or as little removed from heaven as earth, and not of necessity more accessible to the souls of the dead or to the very gods than to ourselves. . .

> There will never be any more perfection than there is now,
> Nor any more heaven or hell than there is now. . .
> Why should I wish to see God better than this day?

The spiritual world is described by those who have knowledge of it by immediate experience in terms very different from those of spiritualists speaking of the after life—it is a "supernatural, supersensual Abyss, which hath no ground or Byss to stand on, and where there is no place to dwell in. . . . nothing is like unto it and therefore it may fitly be compared to *Nothing*, for it is deeper than any *Thing*. . . . All Things are from it and in it and by it" * . . . "a place beyond uttermost place, in a tract without shadow of trace." †

And so far from desiring the endlessness of ego-consciousness, the mystic exclaims :

> I will go down to self-annihilation and Eternal Death,
> Lest the Last Judgment come and find me unannihilate,
> And I be seiz'd and giv'n into the hands of my own Selfhood.

It is needless to emphasize that the popularity of spiritualism depends to a considerable extent upon the consolation it offers to those who hope to meet again with individuals whom they have loved and lost on earth. The possibility of such meetings is plainly offered: but after the passing of many years, how shall we recognize our former acquaintances, except by tests of identity akin to those which are said to be offered by disembodied souls to the living? The soul and body of man are equally subject to the law of becoming, and our very being is but a succession of instants of consciousness: and an association that is vital to-day may be needless to-morrow when each of the individuals concerned has changed. In the truest sense of the words, no meeting again is possible even on earth, for every meeting is a meeting for the first time and every parting is for ever. 'There is no death,' indeed: but only where there is no birth. All things that have a beginning have an end. It is in accordance with the order of the world that we should die, and why should we grieve for a thing that may not be amended? and he who realises best what personal immortality implies may best desire it.

Do we wish to perpetuate through all eternity accidental relations of birth and propinquity and ties of nationality or interest. The inhabiting effect of such ties is already too often evident, disguised as it may be in terms of loyalty and duty. The only valid meetings here—and we must

* Jacob Behmen, Dialogues of the Supersensual Life.

† Jalal-uddin Rumi.

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surely argue from the known to the unknown—are those of kindred spirits and lovers. Such meetings do not lack necessity or poignancy because we do not remember an association in a former life—they have indeed the character of recognition only in the sense of their inevitability. We 'recognize' that we have never been divided. When lovers 'seem to have known each other always' it is because for the moment they have attained a station of consciousness where meeting and parting alike appear, as they are, unreal. To be true to the present is infinitely more precious than to be constant to the past: and the hope of meeting again in heaven, though it seems to look to the future, is really an attempt to live again in the past. Most men shrink in horror from an immediate reaction to present conditions—and yet no less than this is what religion and morality demand of us, that we should leave the dead to bury their dead.

It is hard to see the value of a 'faith' that needs to be supported by belief in a future life: and while the exploration of all human powers is surely legitimate, it must be no less surely an evil and adulterous generation that seeketh for proofs of survival to be used in a conflict with its own materialism! The proper ground of faith is in immediate experience, and those who have had experience of love and intuitions of beauty and truth need no assurance that these immaterial things are infinitely more real than the aspects of any conditioned world of the present or the future.

Another life could not in itself be better nor worse than this—it will in any case be what we make of it; and he who is materially-minded here will be materially-minded in any other environment. The longing for a future life in a better world is an expression of unfulfilled desire, and its expression belongs to the romantic literature of compensation. But he who is psychologically healthy and does not fear to accept the world as it is—and all of us who would be wise must come to this at last—exclaims that what he has seen here is unsurpassable, and finds infinity in grains of sand and heaven in a wild flower.

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"Sir" Johukum Mabap's Speech at a Farewell Dinner.

By Mr. M. RAUF ALI, Bar-at-law.

"SIR" Johukum Mabap, C. S. L. (Commander of the most benighted order of the Shoe-Lace) was entertained at a farewell dinner by his followers and admirers on the 1st April at Hotel de Flatterie. The dinner was given in recognition of the eminent services extending over a long period, which the "knight" rendered to the cause associated with his family name "Mabapism." In reply to the toast proposed in glowing terms by "Khan Bahadur" Mr. Khushamdi and supported in equally warm language by "Rai Bahadur" Lala Toadi Mul, "Sir" Johukum, who was received with applause on rising, said :—

VERBATIM REPORT.

* Your Highness and Gentlemen,—I confess I am at a loss to find words for adequately expressing my heartfelt gratitude to you for all the nice things that have been said about me on your behalf by the two able and representative speakers, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the enthusiastic way in which you have drunk my health. The glowing tribute, which you have paid to what I have been in my humble way, able to do in furtherance of the cause lying nearest our hearts, makes me feel flattered for the first time in my life, and now I distinctly realize the potency of flattery in working miracles on the human mind; although a considerable portion of my life has been spent, as you all know, in retailing this commodity to others who are our superior.

Referring in his speech to the auspicious occasion when "Knighthood" was conferred upon me, Khan Bahadur Khushamdi has expressed a feeling of envy at my rare luck in having been the recipient of the most gracious and beaming smiles of Lord Sydenbacon, in addition to the exalted title, which, as Mr. Khushamdi has rightly characterized, constituted in themselves a separate mark of distinction enjoyed by few Indians, especially as this particular Excellency had the reputation of being the most discriminating critic of Indian incapacity. And Rai Bahadur Lala Toadi Mul has gone a step further in expressing his fondest desire to see every mabapist raised to the same position as I have the honour to occupy.

But gentlemen, I hope you will not attribute it to any lack of modesty in me if I tell you that my present status is not entirely due to luck having fallen in my way but it is the result of hard labour, steady application, and unflattering devotion to the sacred cause of mabapism. When I started my career, there was hardly any recognised school which could put me through the paces, or any accumulated experience which could guide my first erring steps, and I had to carve out a passage for myself as best I could; but I am really thankful that my instinctive respect for power and authority from which favours flow in abundance, combined with the inveterate esteem for men of European descent surely though slowly led me to the pinnacle of glory at which you find me to-day. No doubt the path was beset with difficulties which at first appeared almost insurmountable; for disappointment after disappointment stared me in the face. Had I not been supported in my convictions and endeavours by the gallant band of men who

* It may be noted that His Highness the Preserved Flunkey of Shamnagar was also present at this important function.

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resolutely set their faces against vulgar popularity and pursued their high calling undeterred by the foul abuse of contemptible demagogues. I would have certainly fallen short of realizing the grand ideals of adulation.

However, recognising, as I do, the existence of many obstacles and pitfalls which bestrew the path of the beginners, and I see many around me to-night, I propose to give you some broad hints for attaining success within a short space of time. But before I launch out on giving you the general outlines of what must in its nature be regarded a code of instructions in following the great art, it seems to me necessary that at the outset the ground should be cleared of all such predilections and misconceptions as might have crept into your brainboxes (laughter) quite unawares, as a result of thoughtless intercourse with anti-mabapists. This will naturally necessitate my detaining you for considerably more time than is customary on such occasions; for I am told that an after-dinner speech, beside being racy and sparkling should be short and sweet like a donkey's gallop (loud laughter) but considering the importance of the subject and the fact that this is going to be my last address to you as president, I hope you will show your indulgence and bear with me to the last (a voice: "go on old pilot!")

There will be many among you who will find it difficult to give a concise definition of mabapism if called upon to do so all of a sudden. Our enemies have been lately so absurdly vehement in their condemnation of our institution and have made use so profusely of epithets of abuse with respect to our leading men that the public at large have begun to confuse the term of mabapism with toadyism, cycopancay, Flunkeyism, tuft-hunting, cringing, truckling and slavishness, etc. Now to be quite frank "mabapism" is a much purer, higher and finer conception than all these words put together can sufficiently describe. It is essentially a mental attitude and an instinctive inclination of the individual to pay homage to power in whomsoever it resides and utilise the result flowing from such adulation to the fullest extent for the realization of his ego. Mabapism is both a philosophy and a religion with the additional merit that it requires Art of a very high order to develop its practical aspects; for a true mabapist can succeed in attaining his ideal only if he knows the Psychology of the human especially European mind and can tactfully apply its principles to varying situations in his onward march on the road to "eternal verities."

As a school of thought and action it is as old as the hills. The spirit animating the movement can be easily traced back to the hoary antiquity when the patriarchal system of civilization had just emerged from the prehistoric moulds of society and was rapidly growing into chieftainship of the tribe finally giving rise to kingship which in its turn grew into the conception of empire. Mabapism received its greatest impetus during the reigns of Kings and Emperors. I do not wish to take up your time with its history in other countries of the world but I will confine my remarks to its evolution in India. At the outset I may remind you that the term mabapism with which the movement is christened in this country is comparatively a very recent appellation given to it and has a significance of its own. In the early times, long before the Mohammadans appeared on the scene, it existed in a very crude form. In every village in the Hindustan of old there existed a body of men called "Bhats" whose vocation it was to sing poems to the gallant race of the Kshatriyas and extol them and their ancestors to the skies. This ancient custom of praising the strong and the powerful was a recognised institution in the Indian polity and as such had acquired a sanctity which no demagogue could dare blaspheme. The Bhats gradually became a

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caste by themselves like every other trade in India and acquired the sole monopoly of singing the praises of their bread-givers. Although we, as a body, cannot claim to be the direct descendants of this ancient band of panegyrists, yet it would not be presumtuous on our part to assume that in spirit and mental outlook we are their representatives and we should feel justly proud of the ancient character of our movement. Our methods in following the art have undergone tremendous changes as a consequence of the advancing times and we have been able to break down the shackles of caste and monopoly and have thus liberatised the whole institution. At the present time the door of our brotherhood is thrown open to all Indians indiscriminately who possess the necessary feeling and talent for pursuing the art to its final end.

During the Mohammadan period the art was cultivated to such an extent by the refining influences of Persian Poetry that it made contributions of a permanent character in beautifying and elevating the Persian literature and perfected the school of poetry called (قصیدہ گوئی) "Qasidah Goi" (the art of versified Panegyric) which was patronised by the master minds of the day, and created a group of high class poets who adopted panegyric as their profession. But in spite of the high altitudes reached by the medieval followers of our Art it retained its crude and undeveloped character in so far as they were direct in their methods and undisguised in their efforts. From our point of view they failed to fulfil the scientific requirements of the profession. For instance a mabapist of those days, if he desired a title, a khilat or a sanad or a medal or some other favour, would directly approach the high being in whose hands lay the gift, with a Qasidah (a panegyric in verse) containing metaphors and similies for the personal gratification of the praised one in which the high and mighty dispenser of favours would be compared to the Pleades in the highness of his rank and the Sun and the Moon would race round the earth in order to get ahead of the other to be the first to kiss his threshold.

Now it was all very well for the artists of that period to indulge in such wholesome pastime ; for they had to propitiate the deities of naked despotism, and favours depended absolutely on the whims and fancies of the individual who happened to weild power at the moment. But under modern conditions when the whole system of administration of this country is so highly civilized and the entire world has become so wonderfully safe for democracy ; it would be evidently absurd and positively futile for any mabapist to wait upon the head of his district with an old-type Qasida in his praise unless it is accompanied with the assurance that it reflects the considered views of the responsible elements of the locality. My first tip, therefore, to the young aspirant is :—

Whenever you are in the august presence of any "bara Sahib" you should take pains to impress upon his mind that in flattering him you hold a mandate from the people of your ward or the city as the case may be whose opinion should count. And it is not for any personal gain that you have undertaken to haunt the official sanctuaries, you should name a few others even though fellow-mabapists, whom you may have seen frequenting the Sahib's bungalow, and tell him that it is they and not you who are real title hunters. So far as you are concerned the good of the Sirkar which is the mabap of the people is the sole motive prompting you to take up so much of his honour's time.

In laying down these and further directions I presume that you have already completed the preliminary course of training which consists of regularly going

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to Salaam the local Huzoor for at least six months. For you will find by experience that it takes a long time to familiarize your face to the Sahib. I remember how often in the early stages of my career I used to stand up in my carriage to Salaam the Sahib of the district who happened to pass by on horseback or in carriage, without getting even a nod from him in acknowledgment. I knew it was not the fault of the Sahib if he failed to recognise me; it was my own slackness and I remedied it by visiting him twice a week until I succeeded in having my salutation responded to. Sometime I was so lucky as to receive half a smile from him with the refreshing greeting "Hullo Johukoom Tum-Kaisa Hai"? (how are you ?).

Hence gentlemen I will advise you not to lose heart under trying circumstances but follow my example. It will pay you in the end if you keep yourself in frequent communication with the Khansaman, the bearer, and the Jamadar of the Chaprasis belonging to the Sahib. When you go to pay him a visit always try to ascertain beforehand the condition of the Sahib's liver that morning; for much more really depends upon it than you can imagine, as it has been affirmed by many successful mabapists that they owed their honorary magistracy to the regular working of the Sahib's liver more than to their own humble efforts. And a bad liver is known to have destroyed the favourable chances of a fairly advanced mabapist who had worked his way up to "Kursinashini" (title to sit in a chair when visiting the Sahibs).

Then again in order to make your progress rapid in the scale of Huzoor's esteem, you must acquire sufficient knowledge of Geometry in its relations to angles and curves. And for that you must have a quick eye and an observant mind. You should carefully watch your fellow-mabapist who has already established the local reputation of being a great "Hukkam Ras" (the person having frequent access to the rulers) and is on the verge of a Khan or Rai Sahibship, how he conducts himself generally when in the presence of the Bara Sahib. If your memory is bad, keep a pencil and paper and take note of his position when saluting the Sahib. Supposing the upper half of his body makes an angle of 120 degrees with his legs, your endeavour should be, when similarly situated, to shorten this angle of obeisance and gradually bring it to 90 degrees and you will find that the results are gratifying in the extreme. For, mathematically speaking the formula for all practical purposes works out to be that the impression of one's loyalty on a Huzoor's mind varies inversely with the angle of obeisance and directly with its obtuseness. Under any circumstances do not let your salaaming angle degenerate into an indefinite curve; for if it goes down to the zero degree; it will denote the point of incipient disloyalty which invariably has a tendency to lengthen itself out into the refractory curve of "open Rebellion".....a feature common to all the so-called constitutional agitators.

There is another point to which I wish to invite your attention. I have noticed that a beginner experiences great difficulty in opening and carrying on a conversation with the local Huzoor and therefore I think a few observations on this important matter will not be out of place here. In England the custom is to open a conversation by passing a remark on the condition of the weather; you begin by saying that it is a fine morning or a rotten one as the case may be, but in India, the condition of the weather not being so readily changeable you generally being by remarking on local politics. If you have a Home Rule League Office newly opened, or a Satyagarah Sabha recently started or some

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such infernal organisation brought into being in your town; you should begin the conversation by condemning in unmeasured terms the mischievous activities of the individuals responsible for such movements. In order to carry on the talk you must assure the Sahib that the thing is bound to fail; for the influence you have with the people will sufficiently counteract the propaganda of these malicious persons. You should also volunteer your services for spying on those who actively take part in the movement and promise to keep him well posted up with their antics; always ending this offer of voluntary services with a half-suppressed note of complaint that often these political tub-thumpers succeed in getting the cream of favours from the Sirkar and are made Executive Members and High Court Judges but the really loyal people like you have to content themselves with very small rewards. In doing thus you will soon know how well you get on.

But if you happen to be of an enterprising spirit, you may strike an original line of your own. For instance if there is a bill before the Government which has been universally condemned by the Agitator class, you should convince the head of your district that it is one of the best measures adopted by the Government and the Sirkar can always count upon your unstinted support. You may even go to the length of holding a meeting of your henchmen and admirers in the name of the Public to give support to the bill. There is no doubt that in doing so you will draw on yourself a hot fire of abuse and condemnation from the agitators' quarters, but do not mind it, for you can always successfully seek the protection of the law of defamation against your calumniators.

There is yet another way of making your conversation both fruitful to yourself and interesting to the Sahib. It may be that some high officials have acted in a manner that has made the agitator whine, and he has begun to squeal; you should then take the official's side frankly and fearlessly. But for all this you shall have to read the daily newspapers regularly in order to keep yourself up to date. There is one great drawback in the daily papers that while they give the report of the share markets and foreign quotations, they do not publish information regarding the condition of the Mabapist's market. Now, I know that in the last quarter of April, May and June while "O'Dwyers" and "Johnsons" were selling at a premium of 100, a gallant Mabapist and a fellow Knight made a corner in both and as a result has recently got into a high and most enviable position from which a senior and more competent hand at enlightened mabapism was sublimated to a responsible place of cultural authority. I take this opportunity to throw out the suggestion to the publicists of this country that if they wish to increase the usefulness of their papers, they should engage some agency or other regularly to report the variations in the mabapist's market; for even I do not know precisely the quotations of the last month. I believe "Johnsons" have gone down and are at par, but "O'Dwyers" are still selling at a prem. However so long as a news service of this type is not organised the thing you should keep an eye on is what personality from among the mabaps is being persistently reviled or what public measure is being vehemently condemned by such Daily Papers as the "Independent," the "Bombay Chronicle," the "Hindu" or the "Amrita Bazaar Patrika." As soon as you have ascertained this, start a vigorous propaganda in your own way to support the same personality or the measure or both as the exigencies of the situation require, and you will find yourself not only on the safe side in these transactions but rapidly mounting up

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the ladder of the mabaps' esteem which is in itself an asset of great value, and a sure basis for further speculation in favours. Your progress will depend very much on your intelligent efforts and whole-hearted devotion to the cause, and your station in life will very often determine what course you should adopt in a set of given circumstances.

Supposing you have found your way with the help of your financial resources into the Municipal Committee and your President is the Officer-in-Charge of the district, you should be quick to find out from his opening remarks what particular measures he wants the committee to pass. Take the time by the fore lock and even at the sacrifice of the procedure of the meeting get up to move the resolution containing your anticipation of the President's wishes, and urge on the members its necessity in the public interest, and draw a lurid picture of the sad plight of the poor voters if the committee withheld its assent to your resolution. By this process of intelligent anticipation, you will soon acquire the reputation of an able and sober man and a responsible municipal commissioner among all the mabaps of the District who assemble in the evening in one place where black-balls await all blackies. The same method with suitable modifications should be followed by a mabapist member of the Provincial Council. If you are happily in the Imperial Council, you should always strike a lofty note of patriotism and loyalty when voting, which you should invariably do, with the official block. Your speeches should be couched in such language as would leave no doubt in the minds of the highly-placed ones that you have fully realized the difficulties of the Government in dealing with any public question and you have the courage of your convictions in defying the popular will. It will be advisable if you preface your final speeches with the phrase that you have given your most serious consideration for at least two days to both sides of the question before the council, and you have come to the conclusion that you owe a duty to yourself, to the Government, and the "country" and then end with supporting the Government measure. No doubt you will be called bad names by the professional agitator, but you should turn a deaf ear to all his vilification; for the compensating approval from the official Benches is a panacea to all the ills which human conscience is heir to. It will be perhaps once in a blue moon that you may be asked to advise a "strong man on the spot" as to the measures to be adopted by him "to strike the imagination" of the "Natives" of this country. In that case you should not mince matters but be bold and heroic in your suggestions; for as an Indian you can always give expert advice to the foreigner on matters which will strike your fellow-countrymen's imagination; but it will need some originality of thought; for crawling on the abdomen or "on hands and knees" has already been tried.

Gentlemen, I am afraid the subject of mabapism is so vast in its scope, so intricate in its details, that if I go on as I have done to-night, many evenings will have passed before I am able to touch the fringe of its extensive region. Originally I intended to give you a bare outline of what mabapism is, what it stands for and how it should be practised; but I have gone much further than my intention. Throughout my speech this evening I have scrupulously avoided any unpleasant reference to the revilers of mabapism whose number is legion; for I know that our cause is too sacred and too true to need violent language for its vindication. I have not imitated the method of the sedition-monger or the political diatribist in pursuing my theme, although he never spares us; but adds

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insult to injury by putting on sides of a great scholar and liberal thinker. The so-called educated classes of this country who include such "self-constituted" advocates of the new-fangled doctrine of self-determination and similar nonsense, seem to imagine that they are the only true interpreters of the past and fatuously put forward their claims to the monopoly of all learning and enlightenment. They believe that we, mabapists, are a lot of ignorant fools and selfish knaves ready to sell our birth right for a mess of potage, and that we are blind to the light of History and its bearing on the present in so far as we worship the present holders of power and prestige. Well, Gentlemen, with your permission I take this opportunity to tell them frankly and fearlessly that *they* are the deluded fools. It is not we but *they* who are living in a fool's paradise. I am glad that recent events in the Punjab have not only disillusioned them but "taught them a lesson which they will not forget for fifty years" I believe the lesson was very much needed and it was taught none too soon as is borne out by my gallant friend and companion-in-soul in another place. In fact it was not half so severe as it should have been. For, if we refer to History—a subject on which the learned agitator talks so glibly—for instances how ruling nations dealt with similar situations we shall find that *humanity*, *restraint* and *clemency* standout in bold relief in contrasting the measures adopted in the Punjab with those in other countries Take the classical example.

* "The secret Police in ancient Sparta known as Crypteia was under the supervision of the ephors *i. e.* (magistrates or spartan civil servants) who on entering office annually proclaimed war against the helots (self-class) and thus absolved from the guilt of murder any Spartan who should slay a helot. It was instituted primarily as a precaution against the ever present danger of a helot revolt and secondarily perhaps as a training for young Spartans who were sent out by the ephors to keep watch on the helots and assissinate any who might appear dangerous. Plate (Laws, p. 733) emphasizes the former aspect, but there can be little doubt that all events after the revolt of 464 (see Cimon) its more sinister purpose was predominant as we may gather from the secret massacre of 2,000 helots who, on the invitation of the ephors, claimed to have rendered distinguished service (Thuc. IV, 80)."

After hearing this, is there anyone who can question the improvement effected in the modern methods over the ancient ways of doing things? It was after more than half a century that Martial Law was resorted to in dealing with those who claimed to have rendered distinguished service whilst it used to be an annual feature of the administration in the ancient civilized Greece. Then the veil of secrecy has been absolutely removed from massacres, and every measure for putting down "open rebellion" is carried out openly in broad day light, and it is not adopted in any vindictive spirit but just to bring the educated caucus to its proper senses; for it had been suffering rather abnormally for some time past from the swelling in the head having been overfed with Wilsonian principles of self-determination and all that rot.

As for us, we never entertained any illusions about the real character of our mabaps. Fortunately we are instinctively endowed with that uncommon vision which pierces through all the thick veils of civilization, liberty, equality and fraternity to behold the goddess of "Absolute Power" in her unclothed splendour, ever smiling on those who lay the "fatted calf" of their country's is good at her

* Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. VII Gr. Ka-Kyd.

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feet and prostrate themselves before her only to rise again blessed with medals and stars shining on their beasts. Those who have even once seen the resplendent glory of such a Durbar, and I am one of them, can never be argued into the belief that Indians are or can ever be fit for responsible Government. Our salvation lies in recognising the "Divine Right" of our mabaps to look after us and rock us internally in the blisful cradle of "good Government, peace and order." I invite the attention of those who are enamoured of everything English and always clamour for English standards and institutions without understanding their significance, to the famous book "Patriarcha" by Sir Robert Filmer. This was written towards the close of the 17th century and is the hook which provoked Locke into writing his notorious "Treatise on Civil Government" Sir Robert was an English mabapist of considerable learning and great literary talent. In his "Patriarcha," he has given us a most convincing and exquisite exposition of our case * "Filmer maintains that the monarchical form of Government claims from the subject an unlimited obedience as being the representative of the patriarchal authority in the primitive ages of mankind while the patriarchal authority is in its turn the image of the power naturally possessed over his off-spring by the parent, (mabap) that again being the same in nature as the power of the Creator over his creature. The last named of these being essentially infinite. it follows according to Filmer, that all the others are so likewise." I therefore appeal to those my fellow countrymen who have not yet come to our fold to take their cue from this English Authority and join us in sacrificing all that they hold dear and sacred for the pleasure and edification of our parents *i. e.* Mabap for they alone know what is good for us and what is not. In satisfying their whims and fancies and glorifying their name lies our redemption from political sins. With this prayer on my lips which has sprung from my heart, Gentlemen ,I again thank you for the very kind manner in which you have responded to my toast. (Continued applause).

* A History of English Literature by T. B. Shaw, p. 272.

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INDIAN BOY SCOUTS.

By Mr. Phanindra Nath Bose, B. A.

THE movement of Indian Boy Scouts inaugurated under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, by the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan and Captain N. M. Ross, is making rapid strides and the magnitude to which it is slowly but steadily developing calls for special attention and consideration. Now that the Bengali Regiment is being demobilised gradually, it behoves the leaders of Bengal to take up the infant Boy Scout movement with enthusiasm. About ten years ago the Boy Scout movement for Anglo-Indians was first set on foot in this country. It is to Captain Henry Newman, an Anglo-Indian, the credit of the formation of Boy Scouts for the Baden-Powell Association, rightly belongs. It was he who first foresaw a great future in the movement and he bravely persevered on, in spite of vehement popular opposition in the early days of its career, for the reason, that the powers that be, thought it would interfere with Cadet movenent that was then in great force. Although the movement was originated ten years ago, it took in no Indian as a Scout. It was composed of Anglo-Indian boys only. The War is responsible for many miracles, it has shown that Bengalis make good soldiers as well as good Scouts. In the early days the Anglo-Indian Boy Scout movement was managed ably by Captain Newman and his assistants including men like Messrs. M. Martin, J. Lynch and others. As time passed on they went out of the Committee and the entire movement is now in the hands of a series of young Englishmen of the English public schools, who are seeking to give the Anglo-Indian scouts a higher moral, which in their opinion the Anglo-Indian Scoutmasters are, however, the best teachers for their own class of boys and it is to be hoped that they will be offered an increasing opportunity to serve as Scoutmasters. About four years ago, the Indian Boy Scout movement was launched. Men like Dr. S. K. Mullick, C. B. E., Kumar Manindra Chandra Sinha, M. B. E, the Hon'ble Arunchandra Sinha and Mr. S. C. Mitter, took a leading part in it. It did not, however, receive a good start. There were no doubt Bengali Boy Scouts, but there was no sound organisation. Each locality had its separate troop, and there was no link to

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connect these disjoined factors. Fortunately, it soon attracted the attention of Major A. D. Pickford and Captain N. M. Ross of the Baden-Powell Association. They took it up heartily and suggested that the Bengali Scouts should also belong to the Baden-Powell Association. Then the vexed question arose whether the existing Boy Scout Association, which is composed mainly of Anglo-Indians was to recognise these new Indian Scouts, or whether they would secede and form a new Association. Major Pickford and Captain Ross were in favour of the recognition and even threatened to resign their respective offices in case of failure of the grant of the recognition of the infant Association. Unfortunately, a strong antipathy which certain leading members of the Baden-Powell Association bore towards Indians proved stronger and they refused to recognise the Bengali Scouts, on the ground that the contact with Indian Scouts would lower the morality of Anglo-Indian boys. Although this pretext had not an iota of reason and truth in it, their decision prevailed and Bengali Scouts were not recognised as Baden-Powell Scouts, though strange to say there are Chinese, Japanese and West Indian Scouts. It is more than regretful to find that the conservative Anglo-Indian element refused to admit their fellow citizens into the Baden-Powell Association; with the inevitable result that they were forced to form a new Association. Filled with wide sympathy the Governor of Bengal stepped into the breach and became the first patron of the new Association for Bengali Boy Scouts; and in the steps of Government House, His Excellency took the scout oath, along with the other Bengali Boy Scouts. The ostensible excuse has constantly been put forward by the conservative element among Anglo-Indians that the reason why Indian Boy Scouts are not admitted into the Baden-Powell Association is that there is not a sufficiency of Scoutmasters to train them. The argument has only to be stated to expose its futility. Respectable Indian gentlemen would come forward, and are doing so, if only half a dozen European Scoutmasters would train them in the beginning, and they should make the best Scoutmasters for Indian Boy Scouts. It is to be hoped that a better feeling will now prevail and these jarring elements will soon subside leading to the Indian movement being fully recognised. Bengali boys are making good scouts and in the short life of the movement, many good and brave acts done by the Indian Scouts to help the needy have come to

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the notice of the public. The conduct of a Bengali Scout in escorting an old infirm person discharged from Sambhu Nath Pandit Hospital, to the Rescue Home, and that of Patrol Leader Monohar Mukherjee, who notwithstanding the risk and discomfort in saving a drowning boy, so nobly kept the Scout promise "to be useful and help others," are worthy of commendation. Recently the postal strike in Calcutta has brought out in a special way the usefulness of the Bengali Boy Scouts. In the sweltering heat, with the thermometer pointing to an unbearable degree of heat, it is more than praiseworthy to find these Boy Scouts walking the streets of Calcutta, delivering letters to the different houses, and to the different people in all the bustees of the city which are only accessible through tortuous gullies and by-paths. The young boys have done their work manfully; and their free offer of help should more than open the eyes of the authorities to the loyalty of the future citizens of Bengal. Should better counsels prevail it should not be impossible to have one large recognised Association for all scouts in Bengal, irrespective of caste, colour and creed and in uniformity with the great Scout Law, for a Boy Scout is the brother of every other Scout.

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Education for Indian Students in England and America.

By MOHAMED IBRAHIM GHOUSE.

THE thought that there are many progressive young men of India who have the desire and determination to sacrifice a few years of their lives for their education and culture in countries like England and America, especially the latter which has of late been universally recognised and deservedly praised as the most practical and democratic nation we have in the history of to-day, and the firm conviction and belief that a few years sojourn and stay in these countries will mean much and be of inestimable help to India and Indians, has been the supreme motive and cause of the contribution of this short article. To attempt to give within the limited space of an article of a few hundred words, all the necessary and interesting information about the English and American Colleges and Universities would be a futile and impossible task. For those who are earnestly anxious to get such an elaborate and detailed information we would recommend and ask them to write to the Hindustan Association of America, 116 West 29th Street, New York City, U. S. A., and some other similar organisations from which we can fully assure them, that they can get all the necessary and even unnecessary information and help they want. The principal purpose of this contribution is to create in the young minds of the youths and students of Hindustan a strong desire and longing to proceed particularly to such an intensely, practically, and progressive land like America where every Indian can be sure of getting the kind of practical and democratic education which will fit, help and prepare him to be a useful citizen to his country and a helpful force to humanity.

Every serious and selflessly patriotic student who has in his patriotic heart the desire, which is almost divine, of contributing his own share of national service in the making of a Greater and more Glorious India know perfectly and painfully well that India is facing a national crisis—a crisis which will permanently determine the destiny and future fate and place of our beloved motherland in the society and family of nations.

All the sincere, selfless and self-sacrificing sons and daughters of India who are keeping pace with the march of progress, and whose hearts are beating in unison and harmony with the bleeding and holy heart of Mother India cannot but also acknowledge that we are living in the most critical and perilous period of our national history.

On the degree of our selfless sincerity in our national service and work and in the intensity and genuineness of our love and practical

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devotion to our country depend the prosperity, happiness and political, social, and even the financial freedom of future India.

Mother India can expect very little from her children who belong to old India, she entirely and hopefully depends on young India, who alone are responsible for the future glory and greatness of their country, and demand that they should dare to play their part patriotically and manfully in the great tragic drama of Indian National Evolution.

To enable them to do this we, who are living in this New Age of Reconstruction should give our sons and daughters the kind of training which will stir them up to realize and be conscious of their national duties and responsibilities.

We can successfully awaken their national consciousness and give them a new conception of national duty by introducing a more practical system of National Education which will help and improve, instead of cripple and suppress the progressive minds of the Indian people.

Any one who has seriously studied the history of Indian Education, and is still keeping in close touch with the progress of the Indians in the educational aspect of their national life will be justified in thinking that the Indians are not yet prepared and ready for such a radical and revolutionary educational innovation.

Through the earnest and successful efforts and endeavours of a few patriotic educationalists in establishing national educational institutions and colleges we are beginning to see the sign of success and to realize the desirability and possibility of having similar colleges and universities for the whole of India.

But till India can come to such a high stage of educational evolution we shall have to send out yearly a few of our progressive, industrious and exceptionally intelligent students to foreign countries for industrial and other branches of higher and University education.

I am one of those who believe and have full faith in the truth which has been proved by history that only Economic Freedom will give a nation or a country the full and absolute power of self-determination and self-dependence.

We can never hope to have the freedom to stand alone, and depend upon our own strenuous struggle and efforts for the realization of our national aims and aspirations as long as we are so helpless and backward in industry, as to wholly or even partially depend upon the importation of the manufactured products of Japan, America and other industrially progressive countries who send back to us for a highly profitable and oftentimes unreasonably exhorbitant price the same raw materials and produce which we exported to them at a very low cost only a few months back.

To effectively remedy this state of industrial disease and backwardness, we should stop sending to England such a large number of Indians

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to take up the study of Law in the Inns of Court and come back to their country to live the lordly legal life of briefless barristers.

Only those who are born with exceptionally extraordinary legal talent and abilities, and who are confidently conscious of their latent legal possibilities and are fully and perfectly sure of their success in the struggling and strenuous life of legal practice should be sent to study for the legal profession.

This is the time when all the thoughtful and serious minds of India should be vigorously engaged in thinking and doing what all they possibly can for the cause of Indian Industrial Independence.

China is sending thousands of her students yearly to America for technical training and industrial education.

She has also found out the unassailable truth of history that no nation can be fully free unless and until she is industrially and economically free from foreign domination and dependence.

The recent national protest against what the Chinese think to be an undue advantage taken by Japan of China's political powerlessness and industrial weakness and the aggressive territorial ambitions of Japan in violating the political liberty and infringing the territorial integrity of the celestial empire, has clearly demonstrated the practical patriotism and active agitation courageously carried on by all those students who were educated in the free land of the stars and stripes.

The recent trouble in China has given these young and progressive makers of a New China a new impetus and inspiration to increase and improve the industrial enterprises and manufacturing abilities and power of this land of the children of confucious.

They have lately published a National Directory of Chinese Manufacturing and industrial enterprises and concerns with the patriotic purpose of popularising all things and products produced and made in China and thereby help their country to regain her industrial freedom.

Japan herself should be an inspiriting and inspiring object lesson to teach every industrially backward nation the intense importance and indispensable help of the economic power in the life and liberty of a country or people.

If a nation like Japan with no historical record of any international importance, with no history, civilisation and culture of its own, which cannot claim to have contributed much for the happiness of humanity, could have so successfully within a short period of forty years raised itself to such a high place in the scale and comity of nations and become the only powerful and dominating power in the East, what greater national achievements, opportunites and possibilities, are in store for countries like China and India.

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India in her day had a civilisation and culture which far transcended in importance and greatness to that of any other nation in the History of the World.

James Bryce under the chapter entitled "Architecture and History" in his book on "University and Historical Addresses" writes:—"One can hardly think of any higher and keener enjoyment than lies in seeing what man has done in the effort to combine beauty and convenience in buildings meant to endure and in following by the light of history the progress of architecture from Greek and Roman days down to the eighteenth century as one sees the progress in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany and Britain.

"To this I may add that your (Architect's) art has a special claim upon all who love the past, because it is, more than any other art, the sister and interpretor of history. In them you see how men faced the conditions of their life, you see exactly what they needed in the way of defence and in the way of comfort, you see by tracing the type of buildings in each particular province or district of a country what were the racial, political and cultural influences that operated upon that district at the time when the building you are studying was erected, and you are, in a word, able to make the buildings of a country illustrate its history and make its history explain the buildings." "Everywhere," says the same writer, in another place, "the buildings interpret the age and the age interprets the buildings."

If even architecture is taken into consideration as an important factor in the civilisation of a nation, India has made no little contribution for the architectural progress and improvements of the world.

The Taj, Kutub Minar and so many other numberless architectural wonders of India are standing monuments and miracles of Hindu and Muslim Architecture.

But as no nation in our materialistic and mundane world to-day is judged by what she has done, or she has been able to do, and as nobody cares now much for the past possibilities and achievements of a nation, we in India and the Indians can gain much by just forgetting India's past history for the time being and say with the Americans, not that India has no past but that India will intentionally and consciously forget her past glory and success and will believe and work for a Future.

The Indians have no right or reason to say that India has no past, as that would be an ignorant denial of the irrefutable facts and truths of Univeral History.

The Americans are justified in saying that they have no past, because they actually had no past and have done in the past nothing worth recording and chronicling in the history of any civilization.

What we should do is to put our past in the background of our memory and consciousness and keep the light and lamp of the Future always burning brilliantly in the uppermost and foremost part of our National Mind.

By faithfully following and persistently practising this new doctrine of action and practical patriotism we can be perfectly sure of soon seeing one day the dawn of a new era of Liberty for our Beloved Bharath Mata.

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Self-Government and Self-Determination.

By Mr. SRI PRAKASA, B. A., LL. B. (CANTAB.) Bar-at-Law.

"Certainly this has been unwholesome for us, this perpetual waiting for crumbs of lucky chances and eternal scanning of faces of our masters for the passing shadow of sympathy. This demoralising condition has greatly hindered us in our endeavours for true, constructive and effective works that are to give us self-respect which is far more valuable than the gift-horse of self-government whose teeth are left uncounted."—DR. RABINDRA NATH TAGORE.

BOTH these words—"Self-Government" and "Self-Determination"—have been heard of quite a great deal in political literature. "Self-Government," of course, is a very old word: "Self-Determination" is comparatively new. I intend to make an attempt here to understand what exactly these words may connote.

Ordinarily "Self-Government" would mean the Government of a race, people or country by itself; in other words, a self-governing people is one in whose governing bodies there are no foreign elements; and, if those are, they have no deciding voice, the ultimate authority resting in every case with the native element. If this description is correct, the rule of even a tyrant, an absolute monarch, provided he is a native of the soils, would be self-government. But that is not what we now understand by the expression. It has come to mean the government of a people by the people themselves *i. e.*, a democratic form of polity wherein all government rests ultimately in the hands of the people themselves, and that the day-to-day administration is carried on, as far as possible, by the duly elected representatives of that people, there being no bar by reason of poverty or other causes, against any one, however humble, getting into any office, however exalted, if certain specific conditions, physical, moral, or intellectual, are fulfilled. I believe I am correct in thinking that this is what we really understand by the word "Self-Government." Thus Russia was not self-governing, although the Tsars were all native Russians; Prussia was not self-governing, as all citizens therein lay numb under the terrorising heal of the Kaiser—albeit himself a full-blooded Prussian. Pursuing the same thought, a country, if democratic, would be regarded as self-governing even if the titular sovereign were not purely native—as for instance England, in the time of William III or George I.

"Self-Determination," on the other hand, so far as I can understand it, is quite a different thing. It may be that it did not suit some of the Great European Powers to preach self-government, as now understood, for one and all; and so they invented a new word in the hopes that they would make some weaker nations "self-determine" exactly

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as the stronger demanded. Still I think that the idea that "Self-Determination" carries with it, seems to be a necessary corrective to the extreme notions that the word "Self-Government" began to connote laterly. "Self-Determination," I take it, means that the Government of a country should be carried on by persons and in a manner that the people of that country determine as most desirable and suitable for themselves. The form of Government that a particular race may determine as most wholesome for it, in the particular circumstances that it finds itself, may not be the form connoted by the word "self-government," for instance, a particular race may honestly feel that such an extreme form of self-government is not suited for it, that it should have a form corresponding to monarchy—limited or absolute; or it should have an aristocracy, oligarchy or bureaucracy; or it may even prefer to have sacerdotalism or feudalism: but the condition precedent is that the people themselves must have a chance to have their say in the matter. They must be the ultimate arbiters of their own destiny. They must chose what form of government they prefer for themselves above every other. Republican Rome, at moments of extreme danger, surrendered all its powers in the hands of a single Dictator. During the period of the dictatorship, Rome was not self-governing, in the modern accepted sense of the word, but she was "self-determining" all the same.

If I have understood the term a right, I, for myself, must say that I prefer self-determination to self-government in India. The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals have committed us to what is called the gradual attainment of responsible government. Politicians see in it the pure and certain unfoldment of self-government; that is, they feel that an attempt is to be made to put the people *en masse* in power through their elected representatives. It is to be taken for granted that the form of self-government existent in some countries is quite the best form of Government; and is quite suited for India; that even if it be not, India must be made to suit itself to it: gradually, it may be in the beginning but ultimately, certainly and inevitably. That form, I take it, is regarded as the last word in political wisdom and India must follow suit.

Whether I personally like that form or not is not for me to discuss here. I may have another opportunity to have my say upon it later. But the mentality that is behind the proposals, I most fervently protest against. Enforced self or responsible government of that sort—whatever dignified name you give to it—only means a persistent and a most undesirable attempt to drag India bound in intellectual chains behind the triumphal car of European political science and philosophy, and force us, as a partaker in that triumphal progress, to follow suit. It is an attempt, if I may say so, to bind India's soul, even if it looses her body.

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I, therefore, stand for self-determination. I do not want the gradual attainment of self or responsible government under the aegis or guidance of the British Indian Government. I desire that the people should have a chance to say what they actually want ; what their political ideals are ; by what methods do they want to be governed ; whom do they wish to put in positions of power and authority ; etc., etc.

I shall be told that elections seek to serve this very purpose. With the utmost respect, I refuse to believe all that. I know what elections mean, I know how the successful candidates do manage to get elected. We all know what municipal elections are like. We have all heard and read of 'geery mandering,' 'tammany,' and 'party-boss' of America ; we know what the polling-booth and the hustings stand for in the United Kingdom. I may be told that this is not the fault of the principle of elections. It is the fault of human nature. Well, all human institutions must take stock of human nature. And elections, on the indisputable authority of European writers on political science and thinkers on political philosophy, have failed to guage the real feelings of the people. I see no safety in more elections with their opportunities for the safe-guarding of vested interests, in finding out the real feelings of the people. And then if elections could be what they ought to be—the electors only chose men, not principles or forms of Government. The electors have only to say whether they would have A or B as their representative. The machinery of Government is there, so far as they are concerned, ready made and fixed, and remains the same whomever they may send. If the electors want the very form and basis of Government to be changed, what chance have they of getting their voices heard or wishes carried out. Therefore, I say; do not force a particular form of Government on our people. Ask them first what they want. Ask them where the shoe pinches. And in your self-complacence, imagine that the proposed forms are the best for the people. You may, in long run only make the shoe pinch the more if you follow this policy.

There are a few pressing grievances and so far as I can see, the proposed forms will not eradicate these. They may only accentuate them. First of all, there is a universal feeling, for instance, that the administration of India is too expensive for the means and resources of the Indian people. With our new Governorships—with the endless squabbles about status of one province as compared with that of another, and which, our politicians maintain, can only be secured by over-paying the Governors, never mind what happens to the people with our executive councillors, ministers and officers of all sorts and sizes with large salaries and larger new departments and establishments, I have a great and growing fear that our administration will become more and more expensive.

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The Reformed Government may press more heavily upon the people than the unreformed one, expensive, though the other one also is. What we want are cheap, local and permanent institutions and not expensive, itinerant, all-India services who follow the letter of the law and not the spirit of equity in conformity with local needs and requirements, in their dealings with the people. We want an inexpensive and simplified system of law ; and despite the Montagu-Chelmsford Report containing good sentiments on the subject, I fear that more complexity, superfluity and costliness of law and legal procedure would be the resultant, in practice, of the Reformed Councils and Reformed Government.

Then we want industrial, agricultural, commercial, educational and all other forms of social and economic improvement—so much more important than were forms of Government—so that we may be able to live lives of men in well-fed and healthy bodies and minds, in sanitary and social uplifting surroundings and so on. All social improvements will, under the Reform proposals, rank after the purely administrative requirements. These latter, with their rubber-like capacity for infinite expansion and with the prevalent craze for making there ever more and more omnivorous, will eat up all—and more than all—the available money. Further taxation will only be the more harrowing and terror-inspiring. We shall, probably, have a fine form of Government on paper giving endless opportunities for clever and subtle brains to show off their capacity for eloquent debate, brilliant banter and smart repartee round the council table ; but I see no improvement—social and economic—vouchsafed for the general mass—higher classes or the humble middle and lower classes—of the dwellers in town and country. These should be consulted. If they want monarchy, let us have monarchy ; if they want democracy, let us have democracy. But, I contend, for Heaven's sake consult them first. Do not presume what they think, do not presume what is good for them.

I therefore, plead for self-determination. Let our people be asked as to what they want. Let the consultation be held sympathetically in mansion and in hamlet. Let us then find out what are the shortcomings of the existing administrative system. And instead of adding to the shortcomings by complicating the machinery of Government, let us meet the requirements of the people and launch on reforms accordingly.

The ultimate well-being of the Indian people does not rest on an enforced system of "self-government," accordingly to nations imported from abroad, but in a genuine system of self-determination and by attaining the form and methods of administration to the real needs of the people and according to their innermost desires and aspirings.

Our cry should, therefore, be "self-determination" and not mere "self-government." These words really do and should mean the same thing but they have deliberately come to mean, rightly or wrongly, different things and, therefore, our "battle-cry" must also be changed accordingly.

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Government and the Governed.

By Mr. K. R. RAMABHADRAN.

IT is Mr. T. H. Green who has given us a remarkable lecture on "Will, not force, is the basis of the State." Analysing this saying, the first impression is that pure force alone cannot by its very essential nature keep a people under control for a long time. The adage that all people will not remain the same meek ones for all time in all countries at once strikes the attention of the student. It is one of the many ways of solving a problem by first supposing a thing which is by its nature an incomplete cause of the phenomenon at issue, then by a series of causal reasoning to arrive at the crux of the problem after an analytical study of the question. Students of inductive logic are quite familiar with this method ; the application of this method is bound to be useful in pursuing any subject.

Even so, the theory of force has first to be examined on its merits. To the militarist the ancient instinct of combativeness—and it is unwithin happy to note that this race is not yet extinct since it is emerging from within under new forms and strange shapes—kept him familiar with the drums' sound and the soldiers' parade which to us children of the peace of the 20th century sounds indeed discordant. In fact it is malicious pleasure to see that one nation wastes its energies and the cream of its citizens for landgrabbing or other hidden motives of bargain whether in the form of a seaport or the mischievous cry of equality in all the spheres. Taking into stock then the mentality of the day, it is but fair to add that the day of the shining cavalier is fast disappearing. When the tiger in man is thus vanishing—though the writer has got strange misgivings arising from the speeches of von Hindenburg, Marshal Foch and the Chinese Envoy—one must account for the cause of obedience to the Sovereign to other sources primarily. The theory of force is slightly altered by Ludaig Von Haller, but even here the phrase, the Sovereign having the night to rule owing to his powers, clearly expresses the military tinge. The iron of Bismarck, the U. Boat of the Kaiser, the Madsby Strategy of Hindenburg, all these are visible here. We have to note that ultimately the organised irresistible force of the community is at the back of all Governments, it is the potential if not the actual power of this consciousness that is at the helm of all States. The essential argument underlying the fact that members without organization are powerless and with it are impotent can thus be easily understood. Incidentally the remark of Prof. Sidgwick that the movement is towards democracy is also thus explicable.

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Taking then the element of force as only a last resort, certain observations regarding human society as a whole are bound to clear the way for the search after truth amidst the maze of interested political thought and unscrupulous political apology. That man is essentially a gregarious being, that he is a political animal, is as old as Aristotle. This drives him to be in the midst of society instead of going against it following the lead of beasts of prey. The Social contract theory comes in here for a brief criticism. In passing, be it noted that the endeavour "to see the object as in itself it really is," though a field less famous than that of original genius, if debarred from the false and malicious types, is bound to be of great value to humanity. Whether then "the state of nature" be one of idyllic felicity or one of war of all against all, or even uncomfortable, what we for our present purposes want here is only the statement that human society, according to the theorists, began after a contract for some temporal good. That such a theory is unhistorical, illogical and even positively dangerous, since it makes the State the product of individual caprice, is familiar to all readers of Prof. Bluntschli. Without subscribing ourselves as protagonists of this academic controversy it is possible for disinterested observers to note that all Government began for the well-regulated life of man and woman. To avoid this danger it is equally pernicious to base one's self on the divine-right theory which is the result of interested political thought. Sir Robert Filmer could not have done otherwise. That certain elements of sacrifice are quite essential in order to render all the safer the fundamental rights of all political life is quite explicable. That the virtuous life of Aristotle could have been the end of the State can be granted.

Given this end of the people in some political sabha assembled, given that people have a natural affinity to be under a sovereign, be he one, few, or many, given that anarchy can by its very nature be never a substitute for organized Government, given that the history of all nations affords a powerful testimony to this crucial fact, the next interesting question is, have a political body an inherent right to revolt when they have sufficient reasons to do so? This question lands us in difficulties; candour is seldom seen in answering such questions. Without any reference to existing Governments, recent and remote, near and distant, supposing for the sake of truth the inquirer is a citizen of the world, the answer is that the modern sovereign State grants it. The underlying idea is, since all Government rests on the consent of the governed, since the consent of the governed is seen by its habitual obedience to the governing authority which brings to bear upon the recalcitrants ultimately the irresistible physical force of the community, it is as logical to expect a change in the form of Government when the body politic finds from the covert and open acts of the Government that

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it can lead a wholesome political life only when it revolutionizes the temper of the existing Government. Be it noted that such a rebellion does not often happen owing to the constitutional agitation of the masses. When this constitutional agitation fails it means that all is not well with the Government.

Instances recent in point of occurrence are suggested by the ultimatum given by Sir Edward Carson who threatens at any moment to call in the military support of his Irish volunteers. It is a serious political situation when one finds Mr. Bonar Law indifferent if not positively acquiescing in the policy of this technical rebel. Yet that is a fact. Be it remembered that this is an extraordinary incident even in the modern State.

Other applications of this right give rise to the presence of parties like Conscientious Objectors and Passive Resisters. Conscientious objectors have been permitted in England in connection with the Education Act. We have got the remarkable utterance of Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons that Passive Resisters as such will not be punished. That the history of John Bunyan, of Leo Tolstoy, of the South African struggle, and of Mr. Gandhi, has effectively shown to all observers. When we understand aright that the essence of Passive Resistance consists in open defiance of unmoral laws, that it seeks to avoid anarchical crimes by its conquering evil by suffering and sacrifice, it is just possible to estimate properly the right of the individual to disobey constituted authority when he or she finds that all such laws are laws against the Laws of God written in the hearts of men. Here the question of judging the morality of laws is a difficult one and the sentimental individual owes a serious responsibility to his act if he exhibits passion or wrath.

A remarkable writer summarized the civilization of humanity in one particular, from "stone to aeroplane." It is not far from truth to state that one lesson of universal history has been how to combat evil by all possible law-abiding ways—laws being widely understood in the sense of moral enactments. From the days when Cryptea, secret councils, illegal massacres, and lettre de cachet were the order of the day, to the epoch-making years when the right of freedom of speech, of freedom of worship, of freedom of the press, of freedom to revolt against constituted authority when that authority has begun to misuse its powers—truly this is an interesting evolution, the result of ordered human progress along the old, well-trodden and ever widening ways of political liberty. After such an evolution of ideas it is a bit strange to find countries dominating over dependencies basing themselves on political ideas of the Middle Ages.

Nations are now to enjoy the piping times of peace, when Leagues of Nations and Eras of Universal Peace are said to be within sight! Take one leaf from the lesson of universal history. Remember that nations as well as individuals have a right to determine their future. It is for the organized Governments to smoothen their way. Idealists of the calibre of Wilson are after all only dreamers. Strong men of action backed by moral force are the need of the day. Let the Omniscient who guides our destinies produce such men in the needy land so that the Banner of Universal Freedom and the Parliament of adults may hang aloft before humanity.

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Vernaculars as the Media of Secondary Education.

By Mr. K. M. PANNIKKAR.

NO problem has aroused so much controversy in the Indian educational world as the desirability of imparting education through the vernaculars. The opinion has steadily been gaining ground that the great and fundamental mistake in the current educational system of India is the use of English as the medium of instruction. An influential school of educationists consisting of almost all the younger men from English universities has accepted this as the first principle of their activities. A no less influential school of politicians has begun to echo this sentiment on popular platforms. It is therefore a matter deserving the greatest attention from all who are interested in the problems of Indian education.

To understand the question fully it is necessary for us to review in outline the main facts concerning the growth of the present system. It is well-known that the first educational activities of the company were directed to the promotion of Brahminical and Islamic learning (1). The enthusiasm of Warren Hastings for Indian culture found a tangible expression in the establishment of the Sanskrit College at Benares and the Madrassa at Calcutta. But this policy had its opponents even then. As early as 1773 the Rt. Hon'ble Charles Grant, an influential director, pleaded for education of the natives in English! In India itself Rammohun Roy, Hare and others advocated the teaching of English.

The question was for the time settled by the minute of Lord Macaulay dated the 2nd of February, 1835. His arguments are well-known. They need not here be recapitulated. He decided for educating Indians through the medium of English hoping that 'the seas of treacle and seas of butter' will evaporate under the heat of European culture. In fact one of the main objects of the introduction of English as the medium of instruction and the English language as the chief subject of study was 'to undermine gradually and to subvert eventually' if possible the religions as well as the civilisation of India.

The Resolution of Lord William Bentinck's Government, dated the 7th of March, 1835, accepted Lord Macaulay's decision. English

(1) *Vide* Syed Mahmood. History of English education in India. *Aligarh, 1895.*

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was made the sole channel of instruction. The encouragement given to oriental learning was discontinued on the ground that "the money spent on Arabic and Sanskrit colleges was not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth; it was bounty money paid to raise up champions of error and call into being an oriental interest which was bound by the conditions of its existence to stand in the front of the battle against the progress of European literature" (Trevelyn on the Education of the people of India, pp. 87—91).

The unwisdom of the step that the Government was taking was pointed out even at that time. H. H. Wilson, the great orientalist, pointed out that by this decision the Government had committed itself to a policy in which the interests of the great body of Indian people were overlooked. "The great truth was also overlooked", he remarked, "that a national literature can only co-exist with a national language and that as long as knowledge is restricted to a foreign garb, it can be property only of the few who can command leisure and opportunity for its attainment."

The injustice of this decision was soon recognised at least in theory by the authorities. In their first annual report after 1835 the Committee of Public Instruction declared "that they were deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages." They added "we conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed."

This ultimate object was steadily kept in view in the famous Despatch of 1854. Sir Charles Wood as President of the Board of Control expressed in no uncertain terms the policy of the Government as to the co-current development of vernacular literature and English education. He said: "It is neither our aim nor our desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of these languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population..... It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education the study of them should be conclusively attended to." They went on to add that the teaching of English 'should be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular languages of India.' "We look, therefore," they said "to the vernacular languages of India and to the English language together as the

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media for the difference of European knowledge and it is our desire to see them cultivated together."

The excellent and unexceptionable policy of the Despatch was, however, never given a chance. With the establishment of English universities in India and the consequent subordination of secondary education to the interest of the universities the generous policy of the author of the Despatch of 1854 was overlooked and soon completely neglected. The High Schools came to be dependent on the universities and their influence has been by no means beneficial. Since the education given by the new universities was entirely through English and consisted mainly in the study of English subjects, the High Schools which came to be dependent upon the universities found it necessary to give the vernaculars a very secondary place. English gradually monopolised the place which the Despatch of 1854 had proposed to divide with the vernacular.

The most important result of the domination of the university over the school system was that English came to be the medium of instruction even in the very lowest classes. The commission of 1882, over which Sir William Wilson Hunter presided, recommended after considerable enquiry that in the middle school classes at least the vernacular of the locality should be used as the medium. They recognised that the premature teaching of English was the chief reason which made secondary education in India one of the most ineffectual and without doubt the most wasteful system in the world. The evils were not remedied and the system continued. The commission of 1902 wrote: "Boys begin to learn English as a language and also to learn other subjects through the medium of English long before they are capable of understanding it. We therefore venture to express our opinion that it is desirable that the study of English should not be permitted till a boy can be expected to understand what he is being taught in that language." On this recommendation Lord Curzon's Government issued a Resolution which deplored that the cultivation of the vernaculars had been neglected with the result "that the hope expressed in the Despatch of 1854 is as far as ever from realisation." The Government reiterated that "it has never been part of their policy to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country." They laid it down as a rule that "a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until

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it has made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and has received a thorough grounding in his mother-tongue," and that it is equally important that when the teaching of English has begun it should not be prematurely employed as the medium of instruction in other subjects.

The question since that time has loomed large before the Indian public. Motions have been introduced in the Legislative Councils both Imperial and Provincial, demanding the introduction of vernaculars as the media of instruction in schools. In Hyderabad, His Exalted Highness' Government has founded a university with Urdu as the sole medium of instruction. States like Travancore have encouraged the growth of an independent system of vernacular education with distinct success. And the Calcutta University has made an elaborate and systematic enquiry into the whole problem.

Now this short sketch of Indian educational history as far as it touches the problem before us shows one thing definitely: and that is, that inspite of the most unexceptionable ideals enunciated from time to time in the resolutions of Government and the findings of commissions, secondary education has been carried on exclusively through the medium of English much to the detriment of both teachers and students. It will also be evident now that the problem is not one of recent origin. It has been the fashion among certain people to stigmatise the movement for the suppression of English in schools as engineered by those violent nationalists whose attitude towards the Government is of a doubtful character. It will not be doubted now that the movement found its earliest advocates in the Court of Directors and successive Governments of India have repeatedly declared their sympathy with it. In view of this, the opposition for a section of the Indian public would have been inexplicable if it were not known that a good many among the other generations of Indians have completely fallen under the spell of English as a language.

About the effects of the use of English as the medium of instruction the evidence collected by the Calcutta University Commission is conclusive and convincing. Mr. A. F. Mandhan, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, gave his opinion that 'the knowledge of English possessed by the great majority of students who pass the matriculation examination of the Calcutta university renders them incapable of following intelligently

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lectures given in English' and he is satisfied that the use of English as the medium of instruction and examination in the university course is chiefly responsible for the low standard of what is called higher education in this country. So staunch an advocate of English as Principal Paranjpye admits that it is necessary to give candidates the option of using the vernacular at matriculation.

The Indian mind has gradually been awaking to the disastrous results of the present system of teaching non-language subjects through the medium of English. It has been questioned whether the time and energy spent in acquiring a foreign tongue like English, the genius of which is so different from ours, not only for business, commercial or even cultural purposes, but for using it as a vehicle of every day life and thought, is after all not a stupendous waste. As a witness before the Sadler Commission stated "8 years of school life and 3 or 4 years in college are spent more or less entirely in the acquisition of this all-important tongue and how few of us after all this trouble do actually acquire a tolerable knowledge of English."

This use of English as the sole medium of instruction in our schools is responsible for two of the most terrible phenomena in our educational world. The enormous number of failures in the Entrance Examination is unquestionably due to the difficulty of answering in English. In all subjects (except the vernacular language) the questions are set in English and all answers have to be in the same language. It really amounts to this: Whatever knowledge you may possess in your subjects your educational careers is cut short in the Matriculation class if you cannot understand all the subtleties of an extremely complicated foreign language.

This insistence on the English medium is also responsible for the growth of an 'intellectual proletariat,' one of the most remarkable things in the Indian world of to-day. The failures it should not be forgotten have no course open to them. Their education is of absolutely no practical value to them. They are stranded in the voyage of life. This has so universally been the case that failure in examinations has come to be synonymous in India with failure in life. It should not be forgotten that almost all over India the middle classes have adopted an academic ambition which in the words of the Calcutta University Commission is 'an event of great moment in the social

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history of the country.' The ravages of the present system, therefore, affect not only the leisured classes but also the agricultural population who deeming it easier to gain social status by getting their sons into Government service send them to English schools. The result is that the great majority of them get left behind either in the Matriculation or the classes below with disastrous effects on the economic life of the country.

This wastage India cannot afford. India at present stands in need of her resources—intellectual, moral and physical—for the great task of regenerating our society. The only sound policy in education, therefore, is maximum utilisation and minimum wastage. The present system, all are agreed, results in the very opposite ; the utilization is not only not maximum but is so handicapped that, under the present system it can never be maximum, while the wastage is everywhere admitted to be excessive to a degree.

What is the remedy ? To my mind it seems that the real solution lies in the substitution of vernaculars for English as the medium of instruction in schools. English of course should be taught as a compulsory subject to those who desire a university course. The poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, who takes his place with Comenious, Postalozzi and Froebel as a great original thinker on education who has also been able to translate his ideas to the realm of practical work declared to the Calcutta University Commission, his " strong conviction that while English should be skilfully and thoroughly taught as a second language the chief medium of instruction in schools should be the mother tongue (Cal. Univ. Com. Rep., Vol. I., p. 22.) The testimony of Dr. Tagore is especially valuable as he is often pointed out as exemplifying the perfect command of English that an Indian may achieve.

That the students will be able to study the subjects more thoroughly and understand them better through their own languages will not be doubted. It should also be obvious that by the present arrangement a great deal of time is wasted in trying to study the same subjects over and over again through English when they could have been mastered through the vernacular in perhaps one-fourth of the time. Now from the 1st form upwards to the entrance examination a student has to study Indian history : that is he takes a course spreading over five years to study the outlines of his country's story. First

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he is taught in the vernacular. Then he goes through the *same course* in English. The loss here lies not merely in wastage of time but in the loss of opportunities for the student to study other subjects. A German boy in the secondary school course, studies not only the subjects that are taught in our schools but a variety of others including certain amount of English, French and Spanish. If the time of the Indian student could also be utilized to its fullest extent and the vernaculars substituted as to media of instruction, I have no doubt that a more comprehensive and more useful course could be introduced in the secondary schools.

The great difficulty standing in the way of such a reform is the University. The schools at present exist merely for the purpose of preparing students for the colleges. A more fallacious and I should add more disastrous role it is impossible to imagine. The percentage of students who could afford a college education is very small. The percentage that profits by it is still smaller. The interest of the vast majority whose education stops or ought to stop with the secondary school is sacrificed at the altar of efficiency in the colleges. The recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission that the intermediate classes should be transferred to school would perhaps free secondary education from the bondage of the University and make it more independent. In that case it would have done a very great service to the cause of Indian education. Such independence would make the substitution of vernaculars for English in the secondary school perfectly easy. Then, it would be possible to receive a thorough and complete course of education both materially useful and culturally valuable in the secondary schools. That should be the object of every secondary school system. This is no such revolutionary demand as some people try to make out but an ideal formulated by the Court of Directors as early as 1854 and advocated by the Government of India on all possible occasions.

The evils of the present system in killing all originality and making as mere machines for repeating of secondhand information has now been generally recognised among educationists. Mr. C. Rama Linga Reddy, the well known Inspector-General of Education in Mysore to whom the State owes its phenomenal progress in education, once told me that as long as education is not imparted *through* the vernaculars the present deplorable state would

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continue. The process of thought, be emphasised, should be in the language that is most natural to the student's mind. Another well-known educationist Syed Ross Masood, the Director of Public Instruction to His Exalted Highness' Government, wrote thus to the Calcutta University Commission—"The medium of instruction both in schools and universities should be the vernacular of the province ; without this our life and mode of thought would become more artificial and superficial than they need be. India will never develop her real genius and intellectual life till it is made possible for the inhabitants of the country to acquire all varieties of knowledge in the language that comes to them most naturally ; and this they will never be able to do as long as English is allowed to remain the only language of culture in the land."

Mr. Masood has tried to realise this ideal in the Osmania University at Hyderabad (Deccan). Here the medium of instruction even in the university is exclusively *Urdu* while English is taught as a second language. A large committee containing people from all parts of India have been appointed to translate the necessary books and there is very little doubt that supported by so powerful a Government as that of the Nizam the movement is bound to be a success. On its success depends much of our educational future.

It is time that we realised the perversity of our educational system ; that we devised some method to counteract the great intellectual wastage that has resulted from using English as a medium of instruction in our schools. National India must wake up to the problem and on the success of their efforts depends the future of our motherland.

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The Osmania University of Hyderabad.

By Mr. G. A. CHANDAVARKAR, B. A.

(H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.)

INTRODUCTION.

WE are living in stirring times. Throughout the civilized world, colossal efforts are being made to better the lot of humanity. Sagacious statesmen, keen-witted politicians, profound scholars, practical scientists, irreconcilable rationalists, nay even speculative theologians are, one and all, straining every nerve to leave mankind better than they found it. In every department of human activity, gigantic schemes at reconstruction and reorganization, on a scale unheard of in the history of mankind, are being carried out. It seems, as though the whole social machinery is undergoing the inevitable process of a thorough overhauling. But, amidst this unceasing din and bustle, is heard the stentorian voice of the educational reformer. With all the force of conviction at his command he is proclaiming to the world that a sound system of education, imparted on right lines to the sons of the soil, is at the basis of national greatness. If any country is in the vanguard of civilisation it is more so on account of her excellent system of wide-spread education than of her huge army or stupendous navy. If demons of gross ignorance or extreme poverty are stalking in a land, surely that country is bound to lag behind in the race of progress and be driven to the rock of ruin. A sound system of education, education it is that can convert a miserable land into a veritable paradise. Realising this fact, educationists, in the West, have been, and are directing their energies to recast their system of education, by presenting better ideals and newer methods. In the East, the impact of Western civilisation has set in motion a new wave of thought. In India, too, the study of Western Sciences and English Literature has accelerated progress, in consequence of which is noticeable a great educational upheaval. From the times of Lord Macaulay down to our times several Commissions have sat with a view to evolve better systems of University and Secondary education. The voluminous report of the Calcutta University Commission recently issued clearly shows that there is yet a long weary way to be trodden, before many of our educational problems reach even the highway to solution.

At a time when, in British India, means are being devised to afford greater facilities for the spread of education, the Native States in India, also have been persistent in their efforts to popularise education. In the States of Travancore and Baroda they may soon found Universities. In Mysore the University is already an accomplished fact. But, of all the experiments made in this direction, there is none so interesting and far-reaching in its consequences as the one that is being tried in the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam.

Fundamental doctrines of education are, no doubt, universal in their application but none can deny that local conditions and environments necessitate the evolution of a particular system best suited to the needs of a people living in a certain area. Educational needs all over a vast continent like India need not necessarily be identical. It is not unoften that a particular area needs particular

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methods of imparting education to the people occupying that area. Blind imitations of alein methods, however, good and successful they in themselves may be, leads to great catastrophe. What is true of plant-life is to a certain extent true of education. For a healthy growth of a plant, suitable soil and favourable climatic conditions are essential. Likewise social environments, local traditions and peculiar tendencies of people lend a local colouring to the educational methods. What is true of and good for America or England need not in its entirety be good for China or India. Educational methods must be commensurate with the local needs. Making, therefore, a careful study of the existing conditions, and instituting a cautious enquiry into the needs and bestowing mature consideration on the whole educational problem, educationists in these Dominions have launched out a great scheme for imparting education to the sons of the soil. Their efforts received due encouragement from H. E. H. the Nizam whose solicitude for the welfare of his subjects is only equalled by his generosity and at last the OSMANIA UNIVERSITY has been founded. In this paper we propose giving a brief History of the great educational experiment.

THE NEED FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

In the educational world men of light and leading are unanimous in holding that the highest kind of education should be imparted in the Vernaculars not only because the strain of learning a foreign language is unnecessarily heavy but also because the ideas conveyed through the medium of one's mother-tongue becomes part and parcel of one's mentality to an extent impossible in a foreign tongue. Recognising this axiomatic truth educationists in these dominions launched out this scheme of a vernacular, but not a denominational and a sectarian University. Why the choice fell on URDU alone, needs a little elucidation. *Firstly*, Urdu has been, and is, the official language of these dominions. For more than two centuries this language has been occupying this eminent position. Within this area are included the once famous historic sites of Golconda, Bidar and Gulburga where the Muhammadan rulers did recognise the excellences of this particular language and continued their royal patronage. True to the historic traditions the present ruling dynasty of Hyderabad has been very liberal in its patronage. So, the past and present history of the State emphasises the need of an extensive, as well as an intensive study of URDU even as far as the University Standard of higher examinations in Arts, Law and Medicine are concerned.

Secondly, in a State where the Telegu, Marathi and Kanarese as also Urdu languages demanded consideration for their being used as the *media* of instruction for the purposes of University education, the choice naturally fell on Urdu, the official language of the State. The court language had certainly better claims than other languages which are current in the State. To start work with opening Marathi, Telegu or Kanarese Translation Bureaus would have made matters highly complex, intensely intricate and enormously expensive. The way out of the linguistic labyrinth lay only in the selection of URDU.

Thirdly, in this State, already there have been institutions with a long and an interesting history behind them. Let us take the case of *Dar-ul-uloom*, an institution which is nearly 64 years old and which is a standing monument to the genius and far-sighted policy of Sir Salar Jung. The object which that great statesman had in view in founding this Oriental college was that 'it should be the centre of oriental learning in the Deccan and the means of diffusing a taste for culture through our own classics.' Again Mr. Mayhew, the late Educational Adviser to the Local Government and an educationist of no mean repute has

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to pass certain ominous remarks about the future of this College. While making certain suggestions for the improvement of this college he says "This may rightly be viewed as part of the material of a University for Hyderabad." The dream of Sir Salar Jung, as well as the hope of Mr. Mayhew, has now been realised. From this institution, year by year, students were appearing for the Examinations in the Oriental Faculty of the Punjab University and ever since the question of the territorial jurisdiction of a University came into prominence, the local Government has been conducting its own examinations in URDU to meet the requirements of this and similar other institutions. In these dominions the High Court and the District Court Pleadership Examinations are also being conducted in Urdu. In addition to these examinations in Arts and Law, there are even tests in Medicine conducted purely in this vernacular. There are the UNANI MEDICAL Schools to train up men for the UNANI dispensaries, which are also recognised by the Government. Besides in the Dominions there are Primary and Secondary Vernacular Schools, called the *Rushidia* and the *Faukania* schools, where pupils were and are being taught through the medium of URDU. In the local Normal School for the training of teachers of the Primary schools, Urdu is being freely used. The very existence of these institutions for imparting instruction in the different branches of knowledge bears eloquent testimony to the fact of the great popularity of Urdu, ultimately leading to the necessity of utilising Urdu as the medium of instruction even in the University. Mr. Hydari, the Educational Secretary to the Government in his able Presidential address delivered at the 31st Mohamedan Educational Conference, held at Calcutta, vehemently pleaded the cause of Urdu and said :—

"As my first-hand acquaintance with the problems of education in India is growing, I am coming more and more strongly to the conclusion that no language is worthy of being associated with the tenderest period of our life, no language is worthy of being called our mother-tongue, no language is worthy of continued life unless we consider it capable and worthy of being made an instrument of the highest culture, of the deepest emotion, of the sublimest imagination. Unless you believe that Urdu is such a language and have vowed yourself to make it such, it must cease to exist.....It is for this reason that I ask, not only the people assembled here, not only to those whose mother tongue is Urdu, but all those whose mother-tongue is anyone of the great *Prakrit* and *Dravidian* vernaculars to enthusiastically welcome and support that great experiment in truly national education which His Highness the Nizam has so graciously ordered to be inaugurated with all the illimitable sources of his Dominions, I mean the Osmania University of Hyderabad, where the study of English will be compulsory, but only as a language, the medium of instruction in all other subjects up to the highest degree of an Indian University being Urdu. If this experiment succeeds, if it shows on the one hand that the practical knowledge of English is not weakened, whilst on the other the mere memorising of *words* of a foreign language gives place to a *real* assimilation of a knowledge of things, I am sure it will be extended to other languages, to which I have referred, and supply perhaps *the* solution we are all seeking to the problem of National Education, an education that, at no stage of his intellectual career will cut off the student from his cultural traditions and domestic environments. And then consider what treasures of literature, philosophy and science you are making available for your men and women. Surely the education of our masses does not consist merely in giving them a knowledge of the three R's which is all that free and compulsory primary education will provide

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for, unless you have enshrined, in the Vernacular you have taught them, the thoughts and the dreams, the agony and the achievement of the master minds of the world. Without a vernacular University, this will never be accomplished and the masses of your men and women will not have the means of culture they have a right to demand of you."

Last but not least, is the question of nationality. Of the many elements that go to unify a nation language is certainly the most potent. Welfare of a nation is closely bound up with the improvement of the language commonly spoken of and understood, by a group composing a nation. For the national advancement, for preserving the cultural greatness of a nation and for an all-round progress and unity, the improvement of the vernaculars is an absolute necessity. It is an unmistakable sign of the national awakening. With unerring instinct and remarkable foresight have the educationists made it a medium of instruction in the local University. The inauguration of this University should serve as an object-lesson to all those that are justly interested in the improvement of the Vernaculars. The day when there would be a network of Vernacular Universities in India would, indeed, be the proudest in the history of education in this country. It seems to us as though the Osmania University is the dawn of that brightest day. If it should herald and hasten the rise of the *Sun of Knowledge*, it shall simply justify its existence and the heavy expenditure it naturally involves in making it a success, which it so richly and rightly deserves.

THE ROYAL CHARTER.

Mr. M. A. N. A. Hydari, B. A., the Secretary to the Government Judicial, Police and General (Educational) Departments submitted a memorandum to His Exalted Highness on the question of a separate University for Hyderabad on 29 Jamadi-us-sani 1335 H. and His Highness issued a Firman on 4th Rajab 1335 H. (26th April, 1917) in the following terms :—

"I am pleased to express my approval of the views set forth in the *Arzdasht* and the memorandum submitted therewith, regarding the inauguration of a University in the State, in which the knowledge and culture of ancient and modern times may be blended so harmoniously as to remove the defects created by the present system of education and full advantage may be taken of all that is best in the ancient and modern systems of physical, intellectual and spiritual culture. In addition to its primary object to diffuse knowledge, it should aim at the moral training of the students and give an impetus to research in all scientific subjects. The fundamental principle in the working of the University should be that Urdu should form the medium of higher education, but that a knowledge of English as a language should at the same time be deemed compulsory for all students. With this object in view, I am pleased to order that steps be taken for the inauguration, on the lines laid down in the *Arzdasht*, of a University for the Dominions, to be called the Osmania University of Hyderabad in commemoration of my accession to the throne."

The Royal Charter of the Osmania University was promulgated on 16th Zihijja 1336 H. (22nd September, 1918) wherein His Exalted Highness was pleased to order :—

(1) That a University called the Osmania University be established at Hyderabad on this Friday, 6th Muharram 1337 H.

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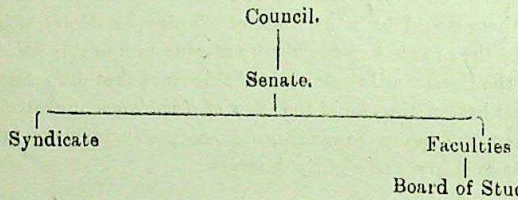
(2) The object of the University is to impart higher education, and further research in and promote the study of religions, morals, literature, law, agriculture, commerce and other branches of useful knowledge, and useful arts and industries.

(3) The Chief characteristic of the Osmania University will be that instruction will be imparted in all branches of learning through the medium of Urdu language while a study of the English language and literature will be compulsory. The Gazette Extraordinary then gives the details regarding the power and the constitution of the said University.

(Orders of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Judicial, Police and General Departments—Educational :—dated 5th October, 1918).

THE ORGANISATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

With a view to carry on the administration of the University on a systematic basis the following arrangement has been made and been approved of by the Government.



The Executive Government of the University including the General superintendence and control over the constituent colleges is vested in the Council. It is to consist of not less than nine and not more than eleven members, of whom His Excellency the Minister, the Assistant Ministers of Education, the Ecclesiastical, the Finance Departments, the Secretary to Government, Education Department, Principals of Constituent Colleges and the Director of Public Instruction and the other members appointed by the Government shall be the Councillors. The Secretary to the Government, Education Department, is the Secretary of this Council. The Senate has the entire charge of the organisation of instruction in the University and the constituent colleges, the curriculum and the examination and discipline of students and the conferment of ordinary and honorary degrees. The Senate members are to be not less than forty and not more than sixty. The Syndicate is the business Committee of the Senate which consists of not less than 5 nor more than 7 members of the Senate. For the present the University has the Faculties of Arts and Theology. As time advances and needs arise other faculties shall be added. There is a Board of Studies in these faculties and a Board of Audit to audit all the accounts of the University from time to time. The Registrar of the University may be a member of the Senate or Syndicate but not be a member of the Council. The first members of the Senate, as also the first Registrar of the University are appointed by the Government. The Chancellor is the highest controlling authority of the University. His Excellency the Minister is to be the ex-Officio Chancellor of the University. The Assistant Minister of Education or the officer charged with the administration of the University is the Vice-Chancellor of the University H E. H the Nizam is the patron of the University.

THE TRANSLATION BUREAU.

From what has been said above it will be seen that one salient feature of this University is the making of Urdu, a local Vernacular, the medium of instruction

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even in the University course. Such a decision of the Government, backed by the advice of many eminent Educationists, Indian as well as Europeans, necessarily involved the creation of a separate department for the production in Urdu of suitable literature on scientific and other subjects. This has led to the creation of a translation Bureau with a staff of eminent Urdu and English scholars. These translators are, in addition to their being eminent graduates, men who have already made their mark in Urdu literature by producing excellent books. The Bureau, at present, has the following gentlemen on the staff and the special subjects with which they deal are noted against their names :—

I. Quazi Mohamed Hussain, Esq., M. A., LL. B., Bar-at-Law (for Mathematics).

II. Quazi Talumuz Husain, Esq., M. A., (Political Science).

III. Mohamed Elyas Burney, M. A., LL. B., (Economics).

IV. Chaudari Barkat Ali, B. Sc., (Science).

V. Syed Hashim Sahib, (Indian History).

(Nos. 1, 3 and 4 are now the members of the University College staff).

VI. Syed Ali Raza, Esq., B. A., Bar-at-Law, (For Law).

VII. Mirza Mohamed Hadi Sahib, B. A., (For Philosophy).

VIII. Zafer Ali Khan, Esq., B. A., (For History).

IX. Baldev Singh, Esq., B. A., (Assistant Translator in Science).

X. Maulvie Abdulla Sahib Imadi, (Arabic and Persian).

XI. Syed Mohiuddin, Esq., B. A., Bar-at-Law, Ag. Curator and Registrar.

XII. Mr. Barkat Ali, B. A., (Assistant Translator in Mathematics).

The following publications in Urdu are already ready for use (1) Algebra, (2) Statics, (3) Physics, (4) British Administration, (5) Logic, (6) History of Greece, (7) Economics, (8) English History. These are based on the standard works in English dealing with the respective subjects. The salaries of Translators are all graded, ranging from 300 to 500 per mensem. His Highness' Government has been pleased to sanction an adequate amount to meet all recurring expenditure for the Bureau with an allotment of Rs. 16,000 for initial purposes, which include a sum of Rs. 10,000 to be utilised for translating into Urdu text books on a system of 'piece remuneration.' The utility of the scheme justifies this expenditure. In the interests of higher education such a sacrifice is not unwarranted. It is hoped, that in due course, many more useful works will be published and the Urdu literature will thereby be enriched. Translations will ultimately pave the way for producing original works.

In addition to the Translation Bureau, there is a "Terms Committee," consisting of Scientists, Mathematicians, oriental scholars and linguists who coin Urdu equivalents for the scientific terms. The Committee is a very useful one and has done good work. The Committee also invites opinions from some of the leading scientists and Urdu Scholars of British India. The Translation Bureau not only gets the standard works on different subjects translated but also gets some books compiled. The Indian History is being compiled by Mr. Syed Hashami and the Islamic History by Mr. Abdul Haleem Sharer, Maulvie Abdul Haque, B. A., former Curator did excellent work in the Translation Bureau.

Mr. Ross Masood, B. A., I. E. S., rendered valuable services to the Osmania University and he was in charge of the University for more than a year before the present Registrar was appointed,

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EXAMINATION IN ARTS.

Prior to the admission into the University a condidate is required to pass the Matriculation Examination in the following subjects:—(1) English, (2) History and Geography (3) Mathematics (4) Natural Science and (5) any one of the following languages (i) Arabic. (ii) Persian, (iii) Telegu, (iv) Marathi, (v) Kanarese, (vi) Tamil, (vii) French, (viii) Latin, (ix) German or (x) Greek. In addition to these a candidate has to pass a test in the following subjects, a test to be conducted by the Head of a recognised High School: (i) Moslem Theology for Mohamedans or Hindu Ethics for Hindus, (ii) Drawing, (iii) Physical training. With the exception of languages all the papers are to be answered in Urdu only. The text books prescribed for English or other subjects are of the same standard as that of the High School Leaving Certificate Examination of British India. The course is *tri-lingual* and by no means of a lower standard than that of the Matriculation or H. S. L. Certificate Examination. After passing this Matriculation Examination or any other examination considered by the University as equivalent to its own Matriculation and after attending the College for full two academic years, a candidate becomes qualified to appear for the Intermediate Examination. In the Intermediate Examination the candidates are required to pass in English and in three subjects of either of the following groups :—

Group A. (i) Grecian and Roman History, (ii) English History Political and constitutional, (iii) Indian History and Administration, (iv) European History (476 A. D. to 1914 A.D.), (v) Islamic History (The Prophet, The Caliphs, Omeyades, Eastern and Western Abbasides (vi) Economics with special reference to Indian conditions, (vii) One of the classical languages, (viii) one of the modern Indian Vernaculars, (ix) Logic, (x) Psychology.

Group B. has (i) Physics, (ii) Chemistry, (iii) Biology, (iv) Pure Mathematics, (v) Applied Mathematics. Moslem Theology is compulsory for Mohamedan students. The books prescribed are of the same standard as that of the Intermediate Examination in Arts of an Indian University. In the B. A. degree examination English as usual is compulsory and in the other compulsory group there are *five schools.* (i) Languages, (ii) Science, (iii) History, (iv) Law and (v) Philosophy. When the language group is selected the study of a classical language and an Indian vernacular is compulsory. There is one feature of Urdu in this examination. Along with Urdu the study of *Hindi Basha* is made compulsory which will necessitate a knowledge of *Devangri* character and *Hindi* literature, an interesting fact which impatient critics will do well to bear in mind. A careful study of the curricula in detail will enable even a casual observer to see that the standard of efficiency is, by no means, sought to be lowered; on the other hand there is a decided tendency to raise it. The course being at times *tri-lingual* makes it rather a heavier one to undergo than when it is, like other Indian Universities, *bi-lingual.*

On the 28th of August last, the Osmania University College was opened. Mehdi Husain Bilgrami, M. A., is the Officiating Principal and Mr. N. G. Welinkar, M.A., LL. B., is the Professor of English, Mr. Quazi Mohamed Hussain, M.A. (Cantab), is the Professor of Mathematics. Other professors too are eminent scholars and provision has been made for the study of Mathematics, Science, Logic and Histories. Provision is also made to teach Hindu classic and vernaculars. There are Professors of Sanscrit, Telegu, Marathi and Kanarese in this University College. The popularity of the scheme can be guaged from the fact that within three months of the opening of the college

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there are already 130 students in the Inter-Arts class. It is hoped that, in future, as the popularity of the institution grows there will be a larger number of students seeking admission into this University College. The following figures will clearly show that there is a decided tendency in these dominions for the educational institutions to increase and the people do require greater facilities for receiving higher education. In the year 1325 Fasli the number of educational institutions in the Dominions was 1,254 with 93,289 pupils, in 1326 F. they rose to 2,579 with 140,673 pupils and 1327 F. they were 3,324 with 182,987 pupils. The number of pupils receiving instruction is growing year by year and though they may not come up to the high level of excellence, commensurate with the needs of the country, the signs are quite hopeful. With the inauguration of the University better results are bound to follow.

"The Local Government have no intention at present of cutting themselves adrift from the Madras University and consider any change in their position towards that University unwarranted at this stage. The Nizam College and English High Schools serving as feeders to it will continue to be maintained in the highest possible efficiency, for the benefit of those who elect to pursue their studies through the medium of English, with a view to graduating in the Madras University." No wiser decision could have been arrived at. In this state of transition such a step is essential.

CONCLUSION.

The inauguration of the Osmania University opens out a new era in the history of education in these Dominions, nay, even in British India. The University is neither sectarian nor denominational in its character. Its scheme of work, its method of organization and its curricula lay no claim to say the last word on "Education," but from time to time, in the light of experience gained or in view of the changing circumstances, suitable changes and improvements will be effected. No staunchest advocate claims any infalliability. As an educational experiment it is full of potentialities. It has a claim on the sympathy of all educationists. "His Highness' Government are confident that it will command popular sympathy and support throughout the Dominions and that all subjects of His Highness will rally round the institution in a spirit of loyalty and co-operation to ensure the thorough success of what Government look upon as one of the greatest educational experiments tried in India." We wish it every success and hope that its *alumni* will, by their profound scholarship and eminent character justify its existence.

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THE
Hindustan Review.
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically, or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism, As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever be enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

Rabindranath Tagore and Robert Browning.

By Mr. V. VIRARAGHAVA AIYENGAR, B. A.

A Study of these two poets side by side reveals several parallels and in the following brief article I have tried to show how much there is in common between them. 'The Gitanjali' stands in much the same relation to Tagore as 'Rabbi Ben Ezra' to Browning. They are the masterpieces of the authors. They are the quintessential expressions of their philosophy, their conception of life and death and of the relation of the soul to God. A comparison of these works presents several points of similarity between them. In the first place, we are struck by the high optimism that marks their works, and the two poets are optimistic to the core. They possess a very lofty notion of life ; and in their views of the world we are in, and life here and of the world to come they resemble each other very intimately. Nothing seems wrong to them in this world and life here is a real blessing. They enjoy this world and life very keenly and with great zest, and hold that this life is a preparation for the life to come. The gifts of God in life are profuse and in the enjoyment of them the heart is touched with grateful feelings and opened towards God. Browning says—

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" Yet gifts should prove their use :
I own the past profuse
Of power each side, perfection every turn :
Eyes, ears, took in their dole,
Brain treasured up the whole ;
Should not the heart beat once 'How good to live and learn?'
Not once beat ' Praise be thine !' "

With equal ardour Rabindranath says—

" I have had my invitation to this world's festival, and thus my life has been blessed. My eyes have seen and my ears have heard.

It was my part at this feast to play upon my instrument, and I have done all I could."

In the 96th Gitanjali the poet once again says how his life has been blessed by the enjoyment of the senses.

" When I go from hence let this be my parting word, that what I have seen is unsurpassable.

I have tasted of the hidden honey of this lotus that expends on the ocean of light, and thus am I blessed—let this be my parting word.

* * * * * * *

My whole body and my limbs have thrilled with his touch who is beyond touch."

To both the poets flesh is no hindrance to the preparation of the soul if man rightly interprets life and its enjoyments. Says Browning:—

" Let us not always say :
' Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole !'
As the bird wings and sings
Let us cry 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul ! ' "

The body must project the soul on its way to God and if it does so it is no hindrance, on the other hand it is a help-mate to the soul.

" To man propose this test—
Thy body at its best
How far can that project thy soul on its lone way "

—says Browning. The body must subserve the soul in its subserving lies the difference between man and beast, which has flesh only to suit the soul and not project it. The wants of the spirit and the wants of the flesh are quite the same to beasts. They have few needs beyond the needs of the flesh. But man is superior to animals in that he has wants of the soul which are far ahead of the wants of the flesh. Therefore the pleasures of life if rightly understood serve only to reveal God and push the soul forward to His feet. They make life blessed. That is why the Indian poet says—

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"No, I will not shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight."

Both the poets therefore are marked by a strong optimism and they refuse to discard life. Life to them is a flower whose fruition is in eternity. With regard to death their optimism is as strongly marked. They are not merely lovers of life but they extend their welcome even to death. At the beginning of 'Rabbi Ben Ezra' Browning says :

"Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made :
Our times are in His hand
Who saith 'A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid.'"

The whole end of life lies in its going from youth to old age and from old age to death. "Thou waitest age; wait death nor be afraid" says the poet in the same poem later on.

In his view of death Tagore is equally optimistic. To him death is but drawing the veil of darkness upon the tired eyes of the day. Death is sleep, is rest, is the servant of God, is a companion, is the guest who must be all honoured with the full vessel of life. Death is 'the last fulfilment of life' towards which all that he was, that he had and that he hoped, and all his love had flowed in the depth of secrecy. He says—

"In the night of weariness let me give myself up to sleep without struggle resting my trust upon Thee."

In the hands of Rabindranath death has become a thing of beauty. He has made it attractive and loveable. In his descriptions of it he has created an atmosphere that is very pleasing, has introduced figures that call up to our mind pleasant thoughts and associations that have delighted us in life, has used words that fall soft on the ear and sink quietly and pleasingly into the heart. He prays to God to draw the veil of darkness upon his tired eyes as he has "wrapt the earth with the coverlet of sleep and tenderly closed the petals of the drooping lotus at dusk." He addresses death saying "One final glance from thine eyes and my life will be ever thine own." This is followed by "The flowers have been woven and the garland is ready for the bridegroom. After the wedding the bride shall leave her home and meet her lord alone in the solitude of night."

This atmosphere of marriage joy, and the comparison of the soul to bride and God to the bridegroom, and the bride leaving her home to meet her lord have metamorphosed death into a thing of joy and beauty. He seems to be in love with 'easeful death' and calls it 'soft names in many a mused rhyme.'

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To stray away from his 'Rabbi Ben Ezra' to 'Prospice' we find Browning describing death as the last heroic fight that man has to fight.

"I was ever a fighter, so—One fight more
The best and the last!
I would hate death bandaged my eyes and forbore,
And bade me creep past.
No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
The heroes of old."

The two poets describe death in different ways of their own. To one it is the beauty of death, the 'tender closing of the petals of the drooping lotus,' its final rest to the wearied soul, its ease that appeals, while to the other the heroic fight with death that counts much. Whatever be their descriptions of death neither is afraid of it. They take away from it its horror and make it welcoming. They admit that the purpose of death is to lead the soul to peace and light.

Both these poets expect the several hardships and failures that the soul might have to suffer in its onward course to God. But they hold that these failures are stepping stones to success, that they have a great chastening influence and spur the soul to strive more and yet more. According to Browning a man without doubt is like a finished and finite clod.

"Rather I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without.
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark."
"A spark disturbs our clod
Nearer we hold of God"
"Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit, nor stand but go!
... ...
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe."

The poem 13 in 'Gitanjali' speaks also of several failures that man has to suffer.

"The song that I came to sing remains unsung to this day. I have spent my days in stringing and unstringing my instrument.

The time has not come true, the words have not been rightly set; only there is the agony of wishing in my heart."

The agony of wishing is the spark disturbing our finished and finite clod. The agony holds within itself the petition for realisation. These failures do not damp the poet and with great hope he says—

"If thou speakest not I will fill my heart with thy silence and endure it. I will keep still and wait like the night with starry vigil and its head bent low with patience.

The morning will surely come, the darkness vanish, and thy voice pour down in golden streams breaking through the sky."

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Tagore and Browning feel that the plan of God is perfect. "Unbroken perfection is over all" says Tagore while Browning says "Our times are in His hand, Who saith 'A whole I planned.'" In another place he again says "I see the whole design.....perfect I call Thy plan."

To both God is the Lord of Time. "Our times are in His hand" and "My times be in thy hand!" says Browning. The Indian poet says—

"On many an idle day have I grieved over lost time. But it is never lost my Lord. Thou hast taken every moment of my life in thine own hands."

In the next poem he says again—"Time is endless in Thy hands, my Lord."

Therefore we have nothing to fear about time. Let it run fast or slow. God knows how to use it, and how to wait.

"Thy centuries follow each other perfecting a small wild flower." "At the end of the day I hasten in fear lest thy gate be shut; but I find that yet there is time." So we need not be apprehensive. Fools propound "Since life fleets, all is change; the Past gone, seize to-day!" They know not that man has 'Forever' and that "the now' may be thrown 'to dogs and apes.' "Time's wheel runs back or stops; Potter and clay endure," says Browning. The Potter's wheel may be spun fast but it matters very little. It is the shape imparted to the clay that is of real importance. Potter's wheel is the wheel of time and only the shape which God gives to the soul is of consequence.

With regard to the immortality of the soul these two poets again concur—

"Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure
What entered into thee;
That was, is, and shall be,"

—says Browning. As a parallel to this we have in the 'Gitanjali.'

"Thou hast made me endless, such is thy pleasure. This frail vessel thou emptiest again and again, and fillest it ever with fresh life."

These two poets feel the great love of God, its profuse outflow side by side with His great power. God's greatness is in the combination of infinite power with infinite love.

"I who saw power, see now Love perfect too" says Browning in 'Rabbi Ben Ezra.' In the same strain Karshish ends his epistle with a passionate outburst—

"The very God think, Abib; dost thou think?
So, the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
So through thunder comes a human voice
Saying 'O heart I made, a heart beats here!
'Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself,
'Thou hast no power, nor mayst conceive of mine,
But love I gave thee, with myself to love."

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In 'the Gitanjali' too we have several poems devoted to the description of the great love.

"If I call not Thee in my prayers, if I keep not Thee in my heart, Thy love for me still waits for my love" says the poet. The poet constantly impresses us with the majesty and awful might of God. He is the Lord of Thunder, stars deck His wristlet, the storm and lighting obey Him, His steps are echoed from star to star, under the sound of His wheels the earth shakes. But He is also the God Who has His footstool where the poorest, lowliest, and lost live. He is the Companion of the companionless. He is the friend waiting at the end of the stony path for man to go to. He is the lover calling as to the love-tryst. He is with the tiller and the path-maker. Pride and wealth can never approach Him. He gives himself to man in love and then feels His own entire sweetness in man. 'Rabbi Ben Ezra' contains a valuable and earnest prayer at the end :

"But I need, now as then,
Thee, God, who mouldest men ;
And since, not even while the whirl was worst.
Did I,—to the wheel of life
With shapes and colours rife,
Bound dizzily,—mistake my end to slake Thy thirst :
So, take and use Thy work !
Amend what flaws may lurk,
What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim !
My times be in Thy hand !
Perfect the cup as planned !
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same."

'The Gitanjali' is also valuable for the earnest and heartfelt prayers it contains. These prayers form by themselves a great unit enhancing the preciousness of the work. Like Browning, Tagore says—

"That I want thee, only thee—let my heart repeat without end."

He offers his life to God in words full of beauty and charm :

"Pluck this little flower and take it, delay not ! I fear lest it droop and drop into dust.

* * * * *

Though its colour be not deep and its smell be faint, use this flower in the service and pluck while there is time."

Both the poets feel that their lives are not flawless and hence not a worthy offering to God. Therefore Browning says 'Amend what flaws may lurk' and Rabindra 'Though its colour be not deep and its smell be faint use this flower' ! They fully believe that the worth of life is in offering it to God for His use, and the Indian poet prays—

"Let only that little of my fetters be left whereby I am bound with Thy will, and Thy purpose is carried out in my life."

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Both the poets are unique also in their appearance at a critical period in the life of their respective countries. The nineteenth century in England is a period of great and rapid scientific advance and every phase of the life of the people, every side of their activities, their society, politics and religion came to the questioned in be light of science. The result was that this enquiry dealt a severe blow upon the old and long cherished ideals of the nation. It shook to the very root a long-lived system and at the same time failed to establish anything new and stable in its stead. The nation suffered for lack of stability in its ideals. It grew weary and languid of mind and heart. This spirit of languor is fully revealed in Matthew Arnold. He longs always for the calmness of Nature which man had not, the nation had not then. About the middle of the century a new light dawned carrying with it the message of cheerfulness and hope. This changed attitude is represented by several writers of the middle and latter period of the century, and of them Browning is very prominent—

"God is in heaven
And all is well with the world"

is his pet saying. In the same way the appearance of Tagore in the history of the life of India is very significant. From the advent of the English here, there began a struggle somewhere in the heart of the nation between what is eastern and what is western. The age-long ideals of the East came to be examined in the light of the West. The clash was indeed menacing and it was feared the East might succumb to the West. The horizon was dark and the outlook grim. Soon the threatening elements disappeared and a new light born of the East and West dawned full on the face of the nation. Tagore represents this new light. He is the result of the union of the East and the West and he has falsified the statement.

"East is East and West is West
And never the twain shall meet."

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.*

Early Indian Thought.

By. Mr. N. D. MEHTA.

LITERATURE and philosophy are the best solvents of racial prejudices. The Eastern and Western currents of thought are not necessarily working on parallel lines as is usually supposed, but intermingle and produce a beautiful net-work of intellectual ripples in human mind provided the subject of investigation is approached with genuine sympathy. "Studies in early Indian Thought" in the product of such sympathetic studies by a western mind. The essay does not pretend to

* Studies in Early Indian Thought. By Dorothea Jane Stephen, The Cambridge University Press, 1918.

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be scholarly, but it fulfils the object of interesting "those whose profession or calling has brought them into personal contact with the natives of India by an account of the influence exercised by early Indian literature on the Indian thought of the present day."

The studies extend over the Rigveda, Upanishads and Bhagawadgita and the last chapter furnishes excellent materials of the anterior and contemporary speculative activities of other countries *e. g.*, Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, China, Rome, Greece, Persia and Babylon.

The evolution of the human mind of a particular racial or national type can be studied through its poetry, liturgy and speculation. The poet's vision, the priest's prayer for material prosperity, and the philosopher's abstraction to catch the ultimate are analysed through groups of typical hymns of the Rigveda. There is no nobler conception of moral law than what underlies the word "Rita" and its upholders Varuna and Mitra.

The poet feels intuitively:—

"The foundations of order are strong, many graces are in its beauty" (iv. 23.9).

The heaven and earth exhibit the working of that majestic law of *Rita* on the material plane. There is also an equally majestic law of *Satya* working on the moral plane. The author should have perceived that ancient Indian Sages recognized the force of the moral law (Satya) working through the physical law (Rita). *Rita* and *Satya* are complimentary conception, and a nation cannot achieve its goal with mere physical force or with mere spiritual force. *Rita* is the body and *Satya* is the eternal principle manifesting itself through that body by the force of meditation (Tapas) of the Divine Nature. The idea involved in *Tapas* is both physical and moral. *Tapas* on physical plane is heat, light, electricity etc., and on psychic plane is "devotional seal and austerity." The Nâsadîya Sûkta of the Rigveda is, according to the author "the greatest hymn of the whole Veda and the completion of all its teaching.....This hymn sums up the whole thought of India so far as philosophers can carry it."

The intuitive perception of the Divine Nature requires faith, which is one form of love. The phases of love in waiting, seeking, and acting are respectively called hope, faith and morality, the driving principles of mundane existence. Take away these three phases of love, and you will find an abyss of pessimism.

The search after Divine Nature and Human Nature culminated in their entire identity posited in the Upanishads. The author examines the leading thoughts of the principal Upanishads. The task is, no doubt, performed admirably, but the conclusions arrived at are in some places erroneous partly on account of neglect of the studies of Brahmans and Aranyakas which the Upanishads form a part and partly

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on account of the undue weight attached to the doctrine of absolutism propounded by a certain section of speculative thinkers of the Upanishads. The following are typical instances of erroneous conclusions.

(*a*) While examining the teaching of the Kathopanished, the author refers to I, 15 :—

"Yama thus told him that fire sacrifice, the beginning of all the worlds, and what bricks are required for the altar and how many, and how they are to be placed. And Nachikotas repeated all as had been told to him."

The passage is, no doubt, enigmatic, and its interpretation is not made lucid even by Indian commentators. But there is no justification for the remark that "the importance of the rites is simply taken for granted." It is again said:—"These explanations are attempts, not at explaining the sacrifice as a whole, but of putting sense into the details of it. They deal with the matter piece-meal and throw no light on the divine nature that lies behind, except in so far as it is thought to be the kind of nature that responds to this sort of appeal."

Now a study of the Taitariya Brahmana would at once reveal that this "fire-sacrifice" taught to Nachiketas by Yama was a symbolic interpretation of the law of sacrifice working through the year (Samvatsar) and seasons; with its 720 bricks consisting of days and nights of a lunar year. The doctrine taught to Nachiketas in "fire-sacrifice" is not a meaningless ritual the importance of which is taken for granted; nor is it a piece-meal explanation. It is a doctrine of "daily round of life which people follow like automatons, and which Yama desired Nachiketas to follow with the underlying spirit for higher spiritual qualification. Whether such moral efficiency is achieved by "fire-sacrifice" is a different question, but to say that the passage is a meaningless jargon is to do injustice to the seer of the Upanishad.

(*b*) Again it is remarked that "in all the Upanishads there is no touch of moral indignation. The more enlightened offer a way of illumination for the less enlightened; but no one is urged into it, and if people like to follow the lower way, and go on with the long round of birth and death, it is entirely their own affair. *A blessing and curse are set before them, but no injunction to choose the blessing, unless they happen to prefer it.*"

The italics are ours. This is a sweeping condemnation of the Upanishads on the subject of moral teaching, The eleventh section of the first valli or chapter of Taitirlya Upanishad affords a direct refutation of this charge. In this section the teacher lays down specific duties for his disciple who is going to undertake the responsibility of a house holder, and it is enjoined that he shall not swerve from the path of

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truth, righteousness, dexterity and prosperity and that he shall follow the example of the *righteous* Brahmans and not of *mere intelligent* Brahmans.

But those drawbacks shrink into insignificance in profuse literary appreciation of genuine Indian mind as depicted in the lives of typical sages. There is no story in the Upanishads more pathetic and human in its touches than that of Yajnavalkya and his devoted wife Maitreyi. We cannot but quote from the author :—

"The phrase *Neti Neti* (not this, not this") is found only in Yajnavalkya's teaching, in the Upanishads ; but it is one of the most characteristic phrases.

"It appears as the summing up of the teaching that he gives to his wife Maitreyi when he was leaving her for the forest. Before he goes away Yajnavalkya proposes to divide his money between his two wives; but Maitreyi who 'was conversant with Brahman' asks him instead to tell her how she may become immortal. He answers that nothing is dear except for the sake of the Self :—

'Verily, a husband.....wife.....sons.....wealth,..... everything is not dear that you may love everything ; but that you may love the self, therefore everything is dear.....

That self (or individual self) is a mass of knowledge.....when he has departed there is no more knowledge, I say, Oh Maitreyi. Thus spoke Yajnavalkya !

Maitreyi takes this to mean that the individual self does not survive death, which is not the answer she expected :

'Then Maitreyi said, Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment, indeed I do not understand thee. But he replied : O Maitreyi I say nothing that is bewildering. Verily, beloved, that self is imperishable, and of an indestructible nature.

* * * * * *

That self is to be described by No. No. He is incomprehensible because he cannot be comprehended, he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. How, O, beloved, should he know the knower ? Thus O, Maitreyi thou hast been instructed. Thus far goes immortality. Having said so, Yajnavalkya went away into the forest (Brih. 4, 5, 14, 15).

What did Maitreyi think as she watched him go? He had brought her to the same conclusion that Narada and Janaka had reached : where all is one there can be no relation between that one and anything also, for there is nothing else. Maitreyi was afraid that she herself would be lost in that ocean without any duality : and Yajnavalkya answered that this could not be so when she came to see that she herself was that ocean, indestructible and unfettered; she could never see

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or know another for there was no other. We think of Maitreyi left sitting among her household possessions rather sadly, looking towards the forest, from which the old man, who is really only herself, will never come back. His arguments seem to be unassailable, but do they really give the answer to the whole of what was in her mind?

* * * * * *

The chances are that Maitreyi obeyed the call of habit, and went to see about her supper, and tried not to listen for such manifestation of the One Real Being as thunderstorms or tigers, and so went on, with a divided mind unsatisfied.

"Meanwhile Yajnavalkya had attained the true height. He does not mind if he does not meet a tiger. He is contented with what he can find to eat or what some passer by gives him. He is not troubled even about Maitreyi why should he be sorry because for a little while she thinks she is sorry? Sorrow and joy are nothing real; once we are free from desire nothing can touch as Yajnavalkya may speak so for himself, and probably will speak so. He has trained himself for many years to know that the King's Court, the argumentative Brahmans the cows with gold upon their horns, and the wife who was dear to him, could all alike disappear as an illusion, and leave him alone with his self He can be one in his mind and at peace; and it must remain to be seen if what satisfies one man can satisfy a whole race of man, if Yajnavalkya can speak not only for himself but for India or for the world."

So far the Divine Nature in Upanishads. As to the Human nature in Upanishads, the author examines the subject from five standpoints:—

(1) As He, production of the Divine; (2) as seat of desire; (3) as controlled by casts, (4) as controlled by transmigration and (5) as capable of salvation or sin. The discourse on this subject, as it affects the every day life of a human ego, is very interesting.

The story and teaching of the Bhagwatgita are then discussed. But while comparing the Gita and the Fourth Gospel, the author propounds a peculiar theory that Krishna was not a real personage. There is confusion of all Indian chronology when the author says that "the war of which the Mahabharat keeps the memory alive, must have been somewhere about 800 B. C., the Gita is not older than 800 B. C. In the interval of some five hundred years between battle and book there is no sign that any one had ever heard of Krishna, either as a teacher or as a complete divine incarnation; there was no body of believers in him; there is no trace of him in literature of this character; the Krishna of the Gita is not a historical figure and his connection with legend is alight; he is imaginary, and the product of one of the most remarkable and powerful imaginations that the world has ever seen."

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All these remarks are gratuitous and are probably the result of Farquhar's personal views on the Gita and Gospel which are taken for granted by the Author.

The value of Indian Thought is summarised in the following passage:—

"The great value of Indian Thought is that it brings the controversy of ages to an issue which grows clearer as we dwell on it. India has stated the argument for necessity and has put it in practice, so far as it can possibly be done, for three thousand years. Western thought has accepted Hebrew guidance, it acts on the assumption of free-will, and has announced its belief in God as a person.....

* * * * * *

To such conception India has opposed a continual challenge. It declares that the ultimate is incomprehensible and all experience is illusion.... It seems that our choice lies between believing that personal character is nothing or is all. In early Indian Thought we have the boldest and the most consistent effort that the human mind has ever made to show that it is nothing; and the effort has failed. Thought may yet learn a lesson from life that shall end not in failure but in hope."

We say certainly in "hope" if *personal* God and *personal* character have a basis in the imminent and impersonal principle.

The get-up is excellent, and the book deserves wide circulation and careful perusal by these westerners who care to know the "real heart" of India through its literature.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Literature of Religion.

A Catechism of Hindu Dharma. The Sacred Books of Hindus Series. By the late Rai Bahadur Srish Chandra Vidyarnava. Edited by Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired.) [Panini Office, Allahabad] 1920.

Literary History of Sanskirt Buddhism. By G. K. Nariman, (D. B. Taraporevala & Sons, Bombay) 1920.

Redemption—Hindu and Christian. By Sydney Cave, (Oxford University Press, Bombay and London) 1919.

The Treasure of the Magi. By James Hope Moulton, (Oxford University Press, Bombay and London) 1917.

Religions of the Past and Present. Edited by James A. Montgomery, (J. B. Lippincott Company, London) 1918.

The History of Religions. By E. Washburn Hopkins, (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1918.

The Psalms of Maratha Saints. By Nicol Macnicol, (Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta) 1919.

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The Koran. Edited by Mirza Hairat, (Curzon Press Book Depot) Delhi.

The Ahmadiya Movement. By H. A. Walter, (Association Press, 5 Russel Street, Calcutta), 1918.

If Zoroaster Went to Berlin and *Afternoons with Ahur Mazda.* By Maneck Pithawalla, (3, Arsenal Road, Poona) 1919.

ONE of the most useful works of the late Rai Bahadur Srish Chandra Basu was *A Hindu Catechism*, published so far back as 1899. As a lucid statement, in catechised form, of the principles and practices of Hinduism, it is about the best introductory text-book for students of the subject and we have much pleasure in welcoming its appearance in a second edition, under the very competent editorship of Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retd.), under the new designation of *A Catechism of Hindu Dharma.*

Though largely based on the works of distinguished continental scholars like Winternitz, Sylvain Levi and Huber, Mr. G. K. Nariman's *Literary History of Sanskirt Buddhism* is an exceedingly valuable and highly useful work and would be welcomed by all interested in the religion founded and preached by the Buddha. It presents in a succinct form a lucid sketch of the Buddhist literature which is enshrined in Sanskirt—the ordinary histories of Sanskrit literature dealing only with the Brahmanical text. Mr. Nariman's excellent work removes a long-felt want and fills a gap in the history of Sanskirt literature. Mr. Nariman has not only rendered a distinct service to students of the subject, but enhanced the standard of Indian research and scholarship.

Dr. Sydney Cave's *Redemption Hindu and Christian* was originally written as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Divinity of the University of London, but it well deserves publication in the "Religious Quest of India" series. Though written from the Christian standpoint it betrays little bias and is as far removed from the ordinary missionary polemics as is chalk from cheese. As an attempt to relate to the gospel of Christ the living forces of Hinduism, Dr. Cave's book has a value of its own. It is fair and sympathetic in its treatment and exposition of Hinduism and is a notable example of the new spirit of tolerance in Christian theological literature. The book deserves a welcome at the hands of students of Comparative Religion.

The Treasure of the Magi, by the late Dr. James Hope Moulton, is an exceptionably able and sympathetic study of modern Zoroastrianism. The first part of the book is historical and deals with Zoroaster, his teachings and their evolution; the second is expository and describes the Parsi community, its priesthood, ceremonial life, orthodoxy and reform, piety, conflict with Christian propaganda and Christianity as the crown of Zoroastrianism. Making allowance for the very limited Christian

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bias betrayed by the author, the book may safely be commended as an excellent popular sketch of the subject.

Religions of the Past and Present, edited by Dr. James A. Montgomery, is a useful work both for reference and study, and those who desire to obtain an authoritative, lucid presentation of the religions which have played and are still playing an important part in the thought of the world should read this book. The authors have presented very ably the ideals, the history and the significance in modern life of the great religions. The entire work possesses a simplicity, directness and accuracy which will be appreciated by the general reader who has not the time to devote to a lengthy study of religions. Each author sets forth his subject according to his own ideas of matter and proportion—the result is the spontaneous, stimulating quality of each chapter and the authoritative nature of the whole. In reading the volume we feel that the authors aim at the truth that the religion of a race is its highest cultural expression. No single volume on the history of religions is so informing and so delightful to read. The religions dealt with are Primitive, Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian, Hebrew, Vedic, Buddhistic, Hindu, Zoroastrian, Muhammadan, Greek, Roman, Teuton and Christian and all by specialists. Altogether a comprehensive and informative volume.

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins' *History of Religions* is the introductory volume of a new American series called the "Religious Science and Literature series." To present the history of religions accurately and comprehensively within one volume has been Dr. Hopkins' purpose in this book. He begins with the lowest forms of religion, those, of savages and barbarians and, advancing from these, examines those of higher character such as the early religions of Europe, the Orient and America. The next higher type then comes in for consideration and, finally, the most intellectual and spiritual religions—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Christianity. Those who have found other text-books in this field uninteresting and complicated, will welcome this simple, straightforward treatment. While it does not purport to be a popular but a scientific work the exposition is marked by a rare lucidity in its class and type, and it may safely be recommended as the best one-volume compendium of the whole field of Comparative Religion.

In the "Heritage of India" series, the latest addition is Professor Macnicols' *Psalms of Maratha Saints*, containing excellent rendering into English of one hundred and eight hymns translated from the Marathi. The translator has materially enhanced the value of his work by enriching it with a long, luminous introduction on the period of Mahratta renaissance during which the great poets and saints of Maharashtra flourished. But apart from that, the hymns themselves make instruc-

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tive reading, for their deep religious fervour and intense spirituality. A capital little book.

It is a bulky and unportable volume which has been edited by Mirza Hairat, containing translation of the *Koran*, "prepared by various oriental learned scholars." Two more volumes are to complete the translation. No information is given in the editor's preface as to the translators and their qualifications, but presumably they are all Indian Muslim scholars. The translation reads well. Those who suspect the accuracy of Christian translators of the Koran may profitably betake themselves to Mirza Hairat's edition.

Mr. H. A. Walter's *The Ahmadiya Movement* is the second volume in the "Religious Life of India" series, the first one being the Bishop of Madras' *Village Gods of South India*. It is an exceedingly compact and accurate sketch of the movement founded by the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Quadian. Considering its importance in the Punjab, a comprehensive and up-to-date work (such as has now been offered to the reading public in the volume under notice) was badly needed, and it will therefore be welcomed by the students of the latest development of Islam in India.

Mr. Maneck Pithawalla, B. A., B. Sc.,—the Principal of Sardar Dastur Hoshang High School, Poona—has written a series of works in English prose and verse to popularize amongst the Parsis the noble tenets of Zoroastrianism. These are *Steps to Prophet Zoroaster*, *The Coming and Passing of Zoroaster*, *Morning with Zoroaster*, and the two volumes enumerated at the top of these reviews. Mr. Pithawalla is an excellent scholar and poet and his efforts to impress upon the youth of the Parsi community the teachings of their great prophet deserve warm acknowledgement. The books may also well appeal to Indians of other faiths.

Our Library Table : Miscellaneous Literature.

MODERN China : A Political Study (Oxford University Press, Bombay and London) by Mr. Sih-Gung Cheng, M. A., B. Sc.—a Chinese diplomat and scholar—is a work of great importance in appreciating the present position and future prospects of the Chinese Republic. The author says that his book is an attempt to deal with some of the important problems which confront the Chinese statesman and diplomat, and those who have anything to do with China. It is the author's hope to give a true picture of things in the Far East, and to suggest constructive schemes for the subjects upon which he touches. After a careful perusal of the book we are prepared to say that Mr. Cheng has been highly successful in his efforts and his work is an invaluable contribution to the study of Chinese politics and administration.

It is a very useful book that Mr. S. C. Sen-Gupta, a District Engineer in Bengal, has written called *A Manual of District Board Work*

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(Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta). Part I—which alone is issued so far—deals with water-supply and the subsequent parts will be devoted to roads and buildings, arboriculture and miscellaneous matters. In the part under notice the subject of water-supply is comprehensively expounded, and the book will be of great value to all interested in the progress and development of local self-Government.

Messrs. P. N. Bose and H. W. B. Moreno have rendered a distinct service to Indian journalism by the publication of their accurate and well-put-together record called *A Hundred Years of the Bengali Press*, (12 Wellesly Street, Calcutta). Though the booklet deals with the vernacular press of Bengal, it is nonetheless useful on that account. We hope that the authors will bring out a companion volume dealing with the English or at least the Indo-English press of Bengal.

The Song of Roland is one of the great classics of Mediæval France and we welcome its excellent rendering into English by Mr. C. S. Monerieff, with an Introduction by M. G. K. Chesterton and a note on technique from the pen of Professor Saintsbury (Chapman & Hall, London). The translator has attempted to reproduce line for line and has been successful in his efforts. The book should appeal to all lovers of good literature.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose needs no introduction to Indian readers as one who—whether you agree with him or not—is entitled to be heard. His *War and Self-Determination* (S. R. Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras) comprises four thoughtful essays on The Passing of the War. The Unseen Power, Self-Determination, and A League of Nations. Each of the essays is thought-provoking to a degree and the book deserves a wide circulation in this country.

Mr. E. G. White's *The Voice Beautiful* (Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) is the second enlarged edition of his *Science and Singing*—as it was designated on its original publication. It is now an exhaustive treatise on the capabilities of the vocal cords and their work in the art of tone production. It should be found useful not only be singers but also by public speakers and we commend it to both classes. The many beautiful diagrams add to its usefulness.

Mr. C. A. Kincaid, I. C. S., is well-known by now as the historian of the Marathas and his adaptations from Marathi literature are invariably interesting. The latest in this class is his *Tales of the Saints of Pandharpur*, which are translated from the Bhakti Vijaya of Mahipati. The tales make entertaining reading and they bring into prominent relief the lights and shadows of Maratha life.

Mr. Maurice Baring's *Round the World in any Number of Days* (Chatto & Windus, London) is a very sprightly and vivacious record of travels. Extracted from a diary, the passages selected make charming reading and the sketches of the scenes and sights should appeal alike to the traveller, who has toured round the world, and the stay-at-home reader in his arm-chair.

Mr. Bertram Lloyd's anthology of poems written during the war (1914-1919) called *The Paths of Glory* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. I.) should appeal to a large circle of readers. Much good poetry was written during the years the war lasted and Mr. Lloyd has done well to make an excellent selection from it.

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I—*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*I will hear.* (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literature.*)

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thoughs or points of view, but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad.

Address to Sir HARCOURT BUTLER,

His Honour's Sympathetic Reply.

IT was a brilliant function that was witnessed at the Kayastha Pathshala on (19th February, 1920) the occasion being the presentation of an address by the Trustees of the Pathshala to his Honour Sir Harcourt Butler. There was a large and distinguished gathering of Europeans and Indians including many ladies. Prominent among those present were:—Mr. F. J. Pert, Mr. K. N. Knox, Lady Knox, Miss Knox, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Weir and Mrs. Weir, Principal Archbold, Prof. Durrack, and Mrs. Dalal, the hon. Nawab Abdul Majid, the hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the hon. Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Mr. W. K. Porter, Nawab Sarbuland Jung, Col. Bolanath, Mr. Keane, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Dr. Wali-ullah, Dr. Zahid Husain, Prof. Thompson, Mr. Smith, the hon. M. Mahadeo Prasad, Munshi Iswar Saran, Mr. Baldeo Ram Dave, Mr. Gokul Prasad, Mr. Ishaq Khan, Mr. A. S. Osborne, Lala Sheo Charan Lal, Prof. Moody, Prof. Stanley Jevons, Mr. and Mrs Agarwala, Mr. Purushottam Das Tandon, Mr. Sham Nath Mushran, Mr. N. S. Bajpai and Mr. Ibni Ahmad.

The entrance to the school premises was beautifully decorated with flags and evergreens. The proceedings were conducted in a huge *Shamiana* which was well decorated, with the motto of the school 'For God, King and country' displayed in a prominent position. The boy scouts and members of the ambulance corps belonging to the school lined the entrance and looked very smart in their uniforms. The arrival of the principal guest of the evening was announced by the sounding of trumpet by the scout.

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His Honour was received by the trustees of the Pathshala, headed by their President Major Ranjit Singh and conducted to the *dais* put up under a silk canopy.

The proceedings began with the singing of 'Bande Mataram' the whole audience standing. This was followed by recitations in Urdu and Hindi.

THE ADDRESS.

Major Ranjit Singh, president of the board of trustees of the Pathshala, then read the following address on behalf of the trustees :—

May it please your Honour,—We, the Trustees of the Kayastha Pathshala, accord to your Honour a most cordial welcome It is now nearly half a century since M. Kali Prasad laid the foundation of our institution. Making a humble start as a primary school, the Pathshala has gradually risen to the status of a first grade College. The first step in its long history was taken in 1882 when the high school classes were opened, then in 1895 the intermediate stage was reached and eighteen years later, in response to the desire of the Kayastha community, the University of Allahabad was approached with an application for affiliation up to B. A. standard. Affiliation was provisionally granted on certain conditions, in the first place, that the Trustees erected new College buildings with laboratories, hostels and quarters for Professors, and, secondly, that they placed the finances of the College on a sounder footing. The opening of the B. A. classes in 1914 created a great enthusiasm in the community and it made a most gratifying response to the appeal of the president for funds. Within two years over three lacs of rupees were promised and of this nearly half was actually collected. In December 1915, your predecessor, Sir James (now Lord) Meston laid the foundation stone of the new college at Chandpur Salori. Unfortunately, the war assumed an ominous outlook soon after and demanded the concentration of all energies towards the securing of a triumphant issue. The institution did its little bit towards the accomplishing of the supreme end. It subscribed nearly a lac and a quarter towards the war loan, some of its members rendered voluntary service and some joined in the Indian Defence Force.

The Pathshala authorities, unable to devote much energy towards the collection of funds, utilised this period in carrying out some much needed reforms in its financial organisation, and

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as the site at Chandpur Salori became unavailable, we waited upon your Honour for the grant of a new piece of land for the building of our College. Your Honour was graciously pleased to accede to our request and to promise to give us the triangular piece of land lying between the Lowther and Canning Roads and the embankment of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. Your Government has very kindly set apart for its acquisition a lac and fifty thousand rupees and we are now actually coming into possession of the site. The results of your Honour's kind intervention have been extremely happy. We have won back the sympathies of all our trustees who had shown some disagreement with the proposal to take the College to Chandpur Salori and we have been able to convince the University authorities of the soundness of our schemes, with the result that we have at last secured permanent affiliation up to B. A. standard in the Arts side. Our Patron, Chaudhri Babu Mahadeo Prasad, is soon going to transfer about half of his promised contribution of one lac to the Pathshala and we are expecting to receive the generous donation bequeathed to us by the will of the late lamented Srimati Radhika Devi, the wife of the hon. Mr. S. Sinha. The community is again stirring and the prospects appear bright.

The world is to-day on the eve of great transformations and our country is entering upon a more spacious era of its history. The future places upon our shoulders serious and heavy responsibilities. Educational institutions must respond to the demands of the new times if the destiny of the Indian nation is to be fulfilled and the annals of the Empire, to which we have the proud privilege to belong, filled with deeds of imperishable fame. The Kayastha Pathshala must train up young men whose soul will be fired with a new patriotism and a new loyalty, virile and sturdy young men who will be the leaders of thought and action of to-morrow, young men worthy to bear the great burden laid upon their shoulders by the coming days. It is our earnest prayer that it may be given to us to rise to the height of our opportunities. We hope in the reconstituted University of Allahabad our institution will occupy a place corresponding to its aspiration and in accord with the great traditions of the Kayastha community. The keenness of intelligence, the love of learning, traditions of loyalty and the urbanity and courteousness of manners of the Kayasthas, are characteristics which need to be kept alive, and what better means could be devised for ensuring this there can be

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than to give recognition to this institution as an integral part of the University, free to develop along its own cherished ideals?

The Kayastha Pathshala has been built up in the past by the combined efforts of a great community. It has enjoyed the privilege of having uniformly received the sympathy of the hon. Mr. de la Fosse, whose kindness and friendship have placed the college under a deep debt of gratitude. We also wish to thank the hon. Mr. J. F. Pert and Mr. K. N. Knox for the kind help given to us in facilitating the acquisition of the site, and your Honour will permit us to say that your name will always be remembered in connection with the progress of our institution as one of our greatest benefactors. It has been our good fortune that we have enlisted your Honour's sympathies on behalf of our institution, for it has been through your exceeding kindness that we have overcome the obstacles which threatened at one time to almost cut short the career of our usefulness. The establishment of the college at the new site will serve as a continual reminder to a grateful generation of students of your Honour's sympathy and good-will. We tender to your Honour, on our behalf and on behalf of the Kayastha community, our most grateful thanks for your having kindly consented to receive this address. We hope the Kayastha Pathshala, founded upon the great sacrifice of M. Kali Prasad and the members of his community, and helped and encouraged by the Government, will so continue to grow in usefulness that it will be an object of pride to the community and a perpetual source of devoted and loyal service to the country and the Government.

His Honour's Speech.

His Honour replied as follows:—

Trustees of the Kayastha Pathshala, I thank you for your address, for its record of sustained offer and reliance on Government's help and for your kindly reference to myself and my officers. I trust that the friendly relations which exist between us all will be strengthened and cherished in the course of time. Your move to a new site coincides with the inauguration of a new era in the educational no less than in the political world. (Cheers). We are considering how to reconstitute the Allahabad University on lines that best accord with the claims of modern education. I doubt not that in this great work you will take a prominent part. Different views prevail as to the best way of obtaining educational results. On certain matters experience

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has settled down of late towards one group of opinions as to the superiority of unitary teaching and residential universities over universities of another type. In such a university your community which has always been noted for its enthusiasm, for education can, play a prominent part. (Cheers.) I am glad to hear of the generous gifts promised by your patron Babu Mahadeo Prasad and by the late Srimati Radhika Devi. I have received a cheque for Rs. 50,000 from the hon. Mr. S. Sinha in payment of the legacy left by his generous and public-spirited wife. I have great pleasure in making this over to Major Ranjit Singh. (Cheers). I can only say that you will find the Government anxious to help and to finance to the best of its ability every movement which makes for the better education of the province. (Cheers.)

I thank you once more for your address and I wish you all prosperity.

Munshi Gulzari Lal proposed a hearty vote of thanks to his Honour and said that the visit was a proof that the distinguished head of the Government approved of their ideals and policy in the college which aimed at service to God, King and country.

His Honour and the other guests of the evening then adjourned to the spacious grounds adjoining the college where the students gave a display of gymnastics, marching flag drill and signalling. The performances of the boy scouts were very much appreciated. Refreshments both on European and Indian style were provided on a lavish scale. His Honour enjoyed much the feats of the schoolboys and left the school late in the evening.

Mr. Sinha's Benefaction.

His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler has addressed the following letter to the hon. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha :—

Lieutenant-Governor's Camp,
United Provinces,
Allahabad, 19th Feb., 1920.

DEAR MR. SINHA,—Very many thanks for your cheque of Rs. 50,000 which I will make over to the President of the Kayastha Pathshala this afternoon. I much appreciate this legacy by your late lamented wife whose benefactions for educa-

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tion have been so splendid. I hope that the Kayastha Pathshala will have a long career of usefulness when the University reform has been carried out.

With all good wishes and many thanks for your kind personal references to myself.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) HARCOURT BUTLER.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha,
Metcalfe House, Delhi.

The function at the Kayastha Pathshala College on Thursday evening was an unqualified success and the Lieutenant-Governor went away with a very favourable impression. Educational institutions all over the province and of all classes, never had a better friend than Sir Harcourt Butler and his Honour's visits are always beneficial to them. We congratulate the president and trustees of the Pathshala College on the two new benefactions amounting to a lakh of rupees which they have secured. An honour to Choudhuri Mahadeo Prasad and the memory of the late lamented Mrs. Sinha, and may their noble example prove infections.—*The Leader.*

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Acknowledgment.

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following British, American, Anglo-Indian, and Indian publications in exchange for the Hindustan Review :—

Quarterlies (Foreign) :

1. The Hibbert Journal.
2. The East and the West.
3. The Buddhist Review.
4. The Monist.
5. The Church Quarterly Review.
6. The London Quarterly Review.
7. The Moslem World.
8. The Sociological Review.
9. The Dublin Review.
10. The Political Science Quarterly.
11. The Round Table.
12. The Yale Review.
13. The International Review of Missions.
14. The Journal of Race Development.
15. The American Journal of Theology.
16. The University Magazine
17. The Society of Comparative Legislation.
18. The Candid Quarterly.
19. The Socialist Review.

(Indian)

20. The Calcutta Review.
21. The Indian Interpreter.
22. The Agricultural Journal of India.
23. The Journal of South Indian Institute.
24. The Students Brotherhood Quarterly.
25. The Indian Journal of Medical Research.
26. The Library Miscellany.
27. The Century Magazine.

By-Monthly (Foreign) :

28. The Indian Law Quarterly.
29. The Social Service Quarterly.

Monthlies (Foreign) :—

30. The Contemporary Review.
31. The National Review.
32. The English Review.
33. The Review of Reviews.
34. The North American Review.
35. The Literary Guide.
36. The Indian Magazine.
37. The Positivist Review.
38. The Open Court.
39. The American Review of Reviews.
40. The United Empire.
41. The Forum.
42. The Asiatic Review.
43. The Theosophical Path.
44. The International.
45. The Japan Magazine.
46. Healthward Ho.
47. Current Opinion.
48. Case and Comment.

(Indian)

49. The Modern Review.
50. East and West.
51. The Indian Review.
52. The International Police Service Magazine.
53. The Vedic Magazine.
54. The Criminal Law Journal of India.
55. The Criminal Law Review.
56. The Theosophist.
57. The Modern World.
58. The Wealth of India.
59. The Youngmen of India.
60. The Literary Review.
61. The Century Review.
62. The Kayastha Pathshala Magazine.
63. The Sikh Review.
64. The Indian Emigrant.
65. The Indian Education.
66. The Educational Review
67. The Mysore Economic Journal.
68. The Arya.
69. The Kosmos.

Fortnightlies (Foreign):

70. The Dial.

(Indian)

71. The Collegian.
72. The Calcutta Law Journal.
73. The Bombay Law Reporter.
74. The Empress.
75. Society Illustrated.

Weeklies (Foreign) :—

76. The Saturday Review.
77. The Nation.
78. The Outlook.
79. The Outlook (New York.)
80. T. P's. Weekly.
81. India.
82. The Literary Digest.
83. Public Opinion.
84. The Living Age.
85. The Nation (New York).
86. The Independent.
87. The World Wide.
88. The New Statesman.
89. The Athaenaem.
90. The New Witness

(Indian)

91. Capital.
92. The Allahabad Law Journal.
93. The Calcutta Weekly Notes.
94. The Madras Law Times.
95. The Madras Law Journal.
96. The Madras Weekly Notes.
97. The Law Weekly.
98. The Indian Social Reformer.
99. The Hindi Punch.
100. The Mussalman.
101. The Wednesday Review.
102. The Mahratta.
103. The Commonweal.
104. The Hitavada.
105. The Hablulmatin.
106. The Social Reform Advocate.
107. Indian Planters Gazette
108. The Hindu Patriot.

Twice-Weekly :—

109. The Advocate.

Dailies (Indian) :—

110. The Englishman.
111. The Statesman.
112. The Indian Daily News.
113. The Empire.
114. The Bengalee.
115. The Amrita Bazar Patrika.
116. The Indian Mirror.
117. The Times of India.
118. The Bombay Chronicle.
119. The Civil and Military Gazette.
120. The Tribune.
121. The Punjabee.
122. The Bulletin.
123. The Indian Daily Telegraph.
124. The Morning Post.
125. The Madras Mail.
126. The Hindu.
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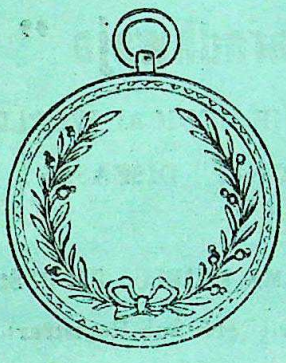

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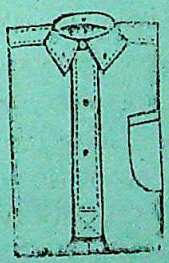

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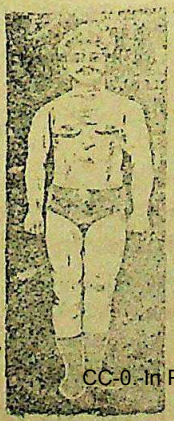

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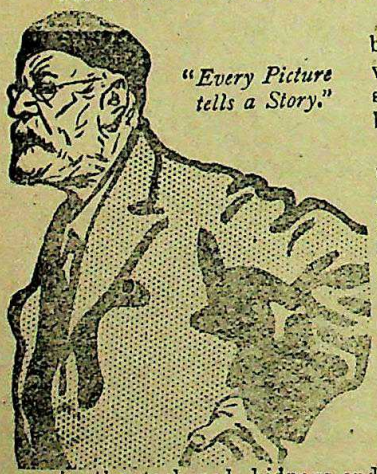

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THE

Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

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"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

Volume XXXXI.	APRIL, 1920.	Old Series Nos. I—X.
Whole No. 247.		New Series No. 237.

Land Banks—A Suggestion.

By Mr. VINAYEK N. MEHTA, I. C. S.

A French writer of eminence, M. Durand, has put it pithily that a person in debt is like one in a hospital. It is a physician's duty to try and get him out of it quickly No less is it the Government's duty, as understood in this country, to free the indebted fro m their load of debt. This is the more necessary when the debtors happen to be payers of Revenue, specially as their capacity to pay their quotas in full and punctually depends so much on their freedom from monetary embarrassment. The necessity admitted, it is the duty of the State to cast about for a remedy. The usual panacea suggested consists of prohibition for the debt to accumulate beyond the Dam dupat amount by ruling that more would not be decreed. This would not, however, make loan funds more easily available to the indebted land-holder. Rate of interest can be regulated by Statute but that too would not bring in money. Government regulation would not improve the nature of security offered and usually pledged to cover an advance. It is therefore proposed to try and improve the nature of the security offered by the debtor and it is hoped that cash would flow to him as water to a lower level.

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Prussia found itself in a terrible predicament immediately after the victorious issue of their predatory chief from the Seven Years War. The Ritter class (Knights) were all heavily in debt and could scarcely get loans at 10 p. c. It was ordered that they should combine their assets together in order to enable them to meet their liabilities the easier. Land Schafts or Land Bank organizations were ushered into being and the Hohenzollern tried his best to use the tax-payers' money to reduce the load by paying off some of the importunate debts borrowed by impecunnious Knights at usurious rates of interest. Land was valued—land bonds were issued in proportion to the land value, and sent out to the world to be purchased and the payment of interest and extinction of debt were secured by proper regulation. Very soon the debts were paid off by the sinking funds started and the Ritter Schaft could get advances at 5 p. c. when shortly before 10 p. c. was the minimum rate demanded.

India in its present state with a Zamindari and Taluqdari class corresponding to the Ritter class of Prussia has much to learn from that example. There also the cultivators had no rights in land. Here also they are practically serfs in one province and, unsecured, scarcely better in the other. Stein did it all and one has now to ask "Find out an Indian 'Stein'". The movement spread fast in the rest of Germany to the great good of the squirearchy. The Bavarian real Credit Society hands over land bonds to the members to be negotiated for by them in the market and the requisite cash raised. The Saxon Society gives out actual cash to the members and in this way usurious debts are paid off. An Indian loses his head on the stock exchange and to prevent the market rate of interest from fluctuating a great deal it is desirable that these land bonds should not be allowed to be the playthings of bear and bull transaction—a curse noticeable so much in the Bombay market. The holder of the bonds in which he has allowed his heavily indebted estate to be minted will never be certain what money he will be able to secure when he puts them on the market. It is therefore desirable to copy the Saxon model for this country. The following is a scheme of real mortgage credit as it would best suit these provinces :—

(1) We must take the provinces of Agra and Oudh as two separate units.

(2) We must start a regular joint stock Land Bank to help embarrassed Zamindars and Taluqdars and secure tenants with transferable rights. We have not unfortunately got in this country a bank like the Bank of France, which is required by its Charter, in return for being the Bank to deal in State securities, to lend money gratuitously or at very low rate of interest to *caisses regionales*. The new hydraheaded amalgamated Imperial bank with its [illegible] Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar to send out credit as it is sure to suck in the [illegible]hing savings of

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every nook and corner. There could be a side of it developed like the Credit Foncier of France required for certain concessions to finance land banks. It is therefore necessary to have two strings to the bow—

(1) A joint stock land bank.

(2) A credit Foncier for redemption of land from indebtedness.

The share capital will be subscribed to by—

(1) Persons who want to earn gilt-edged securities paying a fair rate of interest.

(2) Furtherers of the movement will take shares and render themselves liable to subscription of ten times the face value of capital subscribed *ab initio*.

The combined District Boards or the Government will give a guarantee to the investing public that they will be always the guarantors of lenders' interests.

(3) The increased fluid resources to start with the combined minimum balances of the District Boards will be available as deposit bearing no interest.

(4) The money lying idle in the Treasury at certain times of the year may also be utilised.

(5) The help that will be given by the Presidency Banks as required by Statute.

The bed rock of the resources of this central land bank will be share capital. Deposits will be welcome but they are to be for three years, taken every year so that an amount equal to two years' deposits be always available for lending out. Deposits, however, will play a very secondary part.

(6) The District Boards in future will be allowed to borrow money and they will be able to offer finance to the district land banks dealt with below.

The maximum rate of interest payable to share-holders and depositors should be fixed by statute and notified in the articles of association of the land bank. We cannot allow the greed of the lender to be posited against the necessity of the borrower. If there is a balance it will go to increase the reserve fund and ultimately a lowering of rate to the clients called to its counter will follow. The consideration of this Central Land Bank ought to come last as the apex of the pyramid, but for reasons given below it is necessary to postulate the existence of this redeemer before anything be done for redemption.

Under each of the two provinces must be grouped the thirty-six districts of Agra and the twelve districts of Oudh. Each district will have its own Land Schaft or real mortgage Co-operative Credit Bank. The membership of the bank will be constituted as follows :—

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1. (*a*) Those landed proprietors who are indebted and stand in need of advances to clear off their debts.

   (*b*) Those who stand in need of advances to improve their land.

2. Sympathisers and furtherers of the movement.

They will pool their landed assets together, offering the same jointly to the central bank as security to cover the advance. These assets will be valued. We have here the working of the German system to imitate. The stener-einheit or assessment unit in Germany is the annual land value on which the land tax is levied. So many multiples from twenty to forty are taken of this to represent the price of land. Here we have the revenue unit and we can take from 15 to 30 times the annual Government revenue as representing the market price of land. The other method is a mechanical multiplication of a fixed sum representing the price of a bigha of land with the number of bighas of land. Sometimes, however, this mechanical method is not considered accurate enough and if anything erring on the side of niggardliness, and co-operative credit experts have taught one lesson—if any—that it is suicidal to lend a man twenty when he stands in need of forty rupees. An effort is made to ascertain the *business value* of the estate. The applicant pays the price of the valuation by expert land commissioners. This is sometimes necessary as the assessment rate does not vary during the pendency of a settlement and to get a more accurate value of the land to be dealt with, the latter method gives better result than the mechanical multiple of the unit method. Having ascertained the value of land for each individual, credit is given to the extent of a certain fraction of the whole. This fractional proportion varies in different places from 3/4 to 2/5 according as it is mechanical or actual calculation of the value of land.

Land bonds are thus made out—the individual member of the Land Schaft going bail for the whole and the whole standing surety for the individual. These bonds are to be taken up by the Provincial land bank or the Presidency bank, whatever the arrangement. Cash is paid out so that existing usurious debts of the district bank members are wiped off or the improver is put in ample funds to sink the same on his land,

One consideration is necessary here before land is allowed to be minted into land bonds. A notice has to be given to all concerned by statutory publication calling upon all concerned who have claims against the land to be hypothecated to the Central bank : the action of the Manager of a Hindu co-parcenary must bind those who are jointly owners of the Hindu joint family property. If they have any objection they must speak out within time. The onus is on the lender to see that the debt is taken up legal necessity. This onus would be discharged by fixing all possible objectors with notice. any undisclosed

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encumbrancer can come forward and put in his claim. Failure to notify the claim determines the claim so far as he is concerned. The district experts will then examine each case and find out what the property is worth what the debt has come to and then decide that the person responsible to discharge a particular amount of debt must hypothecate so much land. I do not think it necessary to take in the whole of the land unless the man himself is so willing. The land made over will be freed from all debt and will be hypothecated to the Central bank—the liabilities to the latter being the first charge on the assets of the land so earmarked.

To prevent the dissipation of funds and diversion to another use the amount settled to be paid to the creditors is passed on to the ledger of the district bank as due from a particular estate. To this amount at least land bonds are made out by minting the land hypothecated into land bonds. As a security against these land bonds the creditors get paid by advances made by the Central bank to them direct. In the case of those who have hypothecated more land than is required to cover the advance to creditors, the balance is paid in cash to them and to those who come in to get advance to improve land, payment is made in a lump sum or in instalments according to the arrangement to ensure the employment of the amount to the specific use.

As regards the rate of interest it is best to keep it as low as possible—just the rate at which the Government or the District Board can usually raise money in the market. So much lent by the Central Bank to the various districts, real credit banks will form the loan of one series and this loan account with its separate reserve fund, sinking fund, and management fund will be kept apart from next series. One per cent. ought to suffice as expenses of management. In Germany and Bohemia they charge anything between ½ to ·94 for the former and ·06 for reserve fund.

The debt will be extinguished in any of the three following ways :—

(1) A system of terminable rent charges or annuities,

(2) by a sinking fund in which contribution is made every year and allowed to accumulate by compound interest till the aggregate is sufficient to wipe off the principal. The annual interest instalment is mechanically paid,

(3) sometimes by the borrower taking out an endowment assurance policy to the extent of the amount borrowed—interest being annually paid.

The advantage to the landed borrower is that he keeps his land in his own possession and has not to mortgage it away. He gets money which without mortgaging with possession he cannot secure and even then secure at high rate of interest. The debt is for a certain definite period. It is not liable to be called in by notice. Compound in-

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terest does not accumulate against him with six monthly or quarterly rests. He gets a higher amount by using his land as pledge. He has the advantage of paying off the debt in any of the ways mentioned above.

The loans for old debts are paid off either in 36 or 58 years. Short term loans may be paid off in 13 years. In the Boden credit institute sinking fund accumulates at the rate of—94 a year and Rs. 100 can thus be paid off in 41 years. It would be possible to raise money at 5 p. c. and thus the district bank member will find his debt of Rs. 100 wiped off if he pays about Rs. 7 a year in 41 years (5 p. c. interest, 1. p. c. management charge, 1 p. c. sinking fund). By the method of fixed terminal annuities the annual payment would come to Rs. 7 for 34 years. Either of the two methods be adopted. In the former there is no redemption of the principal piece-meal and the bank will have plenty of fluid resources. In the latter there will have to be annual drawing of bonds, which will be paid off to that extent or there would be buying in of bonds. The third method of payment is more costly but where security is precarious *i. e.*, where there is life interest then it would be safe to advance money by getting the borrower to take out a life assurance endowment policy stipulating that the sum be paid off in a certain time or on termination of life-estate by death.

The district land bank has its own reserve fund and the sinking fund of the one series and both these will be available as assets against the liabilities of that series. In case of default in the payment of an instalment, the District Bank can foreclose or appoint a receiver for the management of the property without waiting for judgment from a Court of laws. The procedure under chapter 34 C. P. C. is a very complicated one and the addition of schedule 3 makes it still more protracted. This District Bank must be empowered by Statute to foreclose the landed share hppothecated to it. It is promptly put in the market and sold unless a lessee is forthcoming who guarantees payment of the instalments stipulated, and in that case the area is leased for the time being to him. If there is the slightest fear that the corpus of the landed property is being deteriorated then there must be foreclosure or the coming in of receiverships. The dues of the bank will be a first charge.

The office bearers of the land bank will carry honorary dignity and rank.

There will be no stamp duty needed on these bonds nor would there be any registration charges. Officers will have the dignity of public servants. They can lawfully demand information from land records and other registers and functionaries of Government without payment. The bonds will be good trust security.

The Local treasury can be utilised for safe custody of money without paying any deposit charges. The Post Office can collect for lending by

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M. O. free of charge sums due from the people to the Bank and *vice versa*.

The experience of various German States and of Hungary goes to show that the institution works very satisfactorily and in no case up till now has foreclosure to be actually followed by sale in the market.

It may be argued that there is no need of a Taluqdari or Zamindari land bank and that the district land schaft alone will be able to raise the money from the market. Scandinavian example to the contrary, I am inclined to think that without the initial nucleus of cash it will be impossible to have funds at one's command to pay off usurious debts. In India capital is shy and these new-fangled things—land bonds—will not be readily brought by a people who readily deposit money at 3½ p. c. in the Savings Bank.

It may be urged that a centralised institute with branches would work better than the system proposed with a Central Financing Agency at the apex. But the Central institution cannot do the work with the knowledge and care that a local self-contained unit usually brings to bear on a trsnscation ways :—

Objection may be taken to the District bank being co-operative while the Central financial Agency is a capitalistic one. There is no harm if the latter be co-operative but there are positive reasons why the former should be co-operative. The District Bank will have funds over and above the actual amounts lent out. Some of the sympathisers will buy bonds pledging their land as security for the bonds and this money will not be taken back in loan by them. The period fixed for the return of the loan amount to the Central institution will be by one or two years more than the period fixed for the repayment of the bond by the members of the District Bank. This money they will employ to help the needy in thousand different ways :—

(1) These funds could be lent out on a system of pawn pledges—the articles pledged being grain or ornaments—a nominal interest will be charged to cover the risk of loss of the article pledged. These will be short term loans scarcely over 6 months. They will be taken just to tide over a period of stress. If the land bank constructs granaries for storing grain, many a peasant proprietor will be able to keep his grain safe till the market rate is in his favour and not against him.

(2) Other funds are wanted by members and these could be given by giving them fresh credit for the period for which sinking fund has accumulated and to that extent; or by lending money up to 10 years, the maximum usually allowed in the Raiffeisen system of Co-operative Credit banking.

For securing efficiently these two objects I want the District unit to be a co-operative one—each will then watch the manner in which the other manages his advance. Public opinion will have all the terrors

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of penal sanction and legal processes would be never called into play. It is necessary that these bonds must bear one series dates 1920-1956 (if 36 year ones) If an individual borrower wishes to pay off the loan earlier, that could easily be done. The bank will annually draw for a certain number of bonds which it pays off from the sinking funds accumulated. If the bank has a wind fall of payments it can buy in bonds. The management fund reserve and sinking fund of one series is first wall of security behind the loans of that series. Behind that will be the assets of a second series.

The scheme will do incalculable good to the land owners who find that the money market for them is always very tight. They will be prevented from pursuing a career of extravagance because for a long period of time they will be in a state of tutelage and the habit of 36 years of moderate living and punctual payment will not easily disappear. They know that their property is practically tied up or entailed—because till the debt is paid up they cannot hypothecate it anywhere else. Land will thus cease being transferred to city dwellers, the *nouveau riches*, who are invariably absentee land-lords and who look upon landed property as investment which must bring in a certain percentage whether the tenantry is happy or otherwise.

In this way would the indebtedness of the peasant proprietors and Zamindars and Talukdars be off and the prophecy of M. de Persigny about his credit agricôle will come true "on peut prévoir le jour on le. Sol sera affranchi de la dette hypothécaire que lin outl egnée le siècles."

I described above the kind of real credit district bank and how it will be called into being. District officials are familiar with schemes of the liquidation of the debts of estates the assumption of whose management by the Court of Wards is under contemplation. An Officer familiar with Court of Wards management will form an ideal officer for looking after the beneficent activities of future District Boards—a sort of ideal rural development officer and he would therefore best be in a position to serve as the expert officer on the advisory board of the District land bank. A notice will be given to all those owning heritable and transferable rights that if they want to join the scheme for the liquidation of their indebtedness they can do so. They should file a list of their liabilities and the creditors would file a list of their dues. After a haggling pourpourler the exact amount due will be settled. The estate standing as security will be roughly valued and then it would be decided whether or not to allow the estate to join the scheme. The final sanctioning authority will be a rural development Commissioner. He would co-ordinate and standardise the activities of all the land Commissioners and thus for one year it would be approximately found out what would be the amount that would be

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neceesary. The Central land bank and the Imperial banks should then be called upon to help. Estates too far embarrassed may not be touched unless the proprietors consent to sale of a portion thereof. What the assessors have to decide is to find out what the land stands valued at. Then fix a proportion of the amount that could be lent on it. The borrower has to pay Government revenue and from his net assets he has to pay the amount fixed by way of terminable annuities or the interest and sinking fund instalment. After paying that he must have enough to live on. In determining the latter great care has to be taken that enough has been left with him so as to leave him free to make his annual payment and in providing for that the period of amortisation should be accurately determined. The heavier the load the higher the amortisation limit. This bank however like the *Caisses regionales* of France will only touch the landed proprietor or the tenant with hereditary and transferable rights. The smaller man and the secured tenant without rights of transfer or the unsecured tenant and sub-tenant astricted to the soil would not be helped by it. That is no defect of the bank. Its very *raison dêtre* prevents its meddling in their affairs. They have no real rights in the property which they can alienate. They should go to the ordinary Raiffeisen banks for the liquidation of their liabilities. One of the most principal use to which I would like to see this real credit bank put is the help it would afford in preventing fragmentation of holdings into uneconomic bits consequent upon the opening out of succession according to the personal law of parties. The Code Napolean encourages sub-division and countries under its sway, especially France, have had to find out ways and means to counteract its ill-effects. Here the Credit fonciers have proved of great benefit both in France and Belgium and our real credit district banks would render similar help to us all. Economists have hit upon certain minimum area units which they consider necessary to hold before full economic efficiency can be secured. There is then the problem of compacting scattered plots of a holding and also the preservation of the unity of the aggregate from meticulous morcellement. The advantages of compactness are too well known to be repeated here in detail. Suffice it to say that it economises bullock power, watch and ward, hedge space. It reduces irrigational expenses and helps in the sanitary disintegration of a centralised *abadi*. The land bank can help in securing compactness of a fragmented holding by buying the scattered plots and selling them in compact blocks, incidentally making a small profit which would go to pay off classification and assessment charges. The bank can further step in when an economic holding is being fragmented by the operation of the personal law of parties. A owns 30 bighas. He has three sons. If B and C take 15 bighas each and jointly borrow money to compensate D for the deprivation of his ten bigha share, then [illegible] bighas barani to be the economic unit of

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holding, each will be able to have an economic holding. The bank will assess the value of the 30 bighas of land and lend the market value of 10 bighas and consider these thirty bighas as hypothecated for the amortisation of the debt. The debt will be paid off by certain fixed rent charges or annuities and then both B and C will have their share unencumbered to leave to their descendants. Far too much money is being thrown in land in this country—not in improvement of land but invested in the purchase of land which continues to be cultivated in the same slovenly manner and sometimes brings in 2 p. c. profit. The man of many acres alone has social dignity. In a small district like Partabgarh over 26 lacs of rupees are distributed annually by the Post Office representing the savings of Partabgarhis serving outside the district. Most of this money goes in taking leasses of land at heavy premia or execution of permanent Thekas for a very heavy royalty. The result is that a very large number of persons are tied down to the soil who can never hope unaided to eke out a respectable living from land. They ought to leave land to their stay-at-home brethren and go out to towns to work as labourers, skilled workers or artisans. There is always an insistent demand for labour in all these places. The industrial future of this country lies in the creation of a landless proletariat who will consent to work for wages. Of course having profited by the example of the West, the life of these will be made bearable and happy by building sanitary blocks for their housing, fixing a reasonable programme of work and making provision for sickness, old age and death. The industrial labour would lose the periodic character of its depletion and excess, its seasonal ebb and flow. The land banks will play a noble part in the creation of a wage-earning labouring population, in the artisanisation of the present rural economy and thus would render impossible the present horrors of disorganisation of village life due to the failure of a single crop. Land would then cease to be the business of every one. It would be cultivated by experts. It should not be forgotten that after all land does not grow crops so much as it is a laboratory in which crops can be grown by manure, irrigation and cultivation. The expert has come to stay and in ushering him into being the real credit association would play a noble part.

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An Indian Hero in Gallipoli.—II.

By Mr. Yusuf Ali, I. C. S., (Retd.)

Stirring events were ahead. Abdur Rahman had never before seen the sea, and his first sight of it filled him with amazement. The receding coast, the winkings of the lighthouse, the restless waves, the wonder of life on board the tossing ship, all gave him new sensations. There were other transports, and there was a convoy, but each ship was a miniature world by herself. And what marvels the sea held? A shoal of mysterious porpoises danced round the ship. By night the phosphorescent glow on the blue waters seemed to hide more than it revealed. The enemy must have been about. They knew nothing about the enemy. But the Captain knew, and the Captain's task must have been one of deep anxiety. The aeroplanes which flew over the convoy in the Red Sea made the men feel that they were getting nearer to the wonderful West, the arena of battle.

The journey, which took some time, seemed even longer to the men bound for an unknown destination. When all was so new and strange, it was difficult to say what feelings were mixed with the glorious wonder in their minds. Was there a fear? Yes, lest the war should be over before they were in it!

At last the boats reached Marseilles. When the Indian troops landed, the whole of the people turned out to welcome them. And what a welcome it was! The French were unstinting in their salvoes of applause! What fine buildings they saw! What magnificent streets! What ardent people! Surely here were worthy friends of the Sarkar!

But now the weather began to be very cold, and Rahman wondered what they would do to keep warm! But the houses were so cosy, and everyone so kind! Warm clothing was served out to all the men,—khaki, and banyans and mufflers! Also great-coats and blankets! If only his mother knew! How she would love to see him in his new woollen uniform!

The French children soon made friends with him, and how he loved them! They played with him just like the Indian children! He told them of Baddu, and they laughed, because they did not understand his language. But they climbed on his knees, and he gave them sweets, and carried them about! Those first few weeks were not without duties. Ever since the landing they had been hard at work. They got their transport up to the base. They marched through interminable villages and towns. They could see endless bodies of French and British troops, in many uniforms, and on many kinds of duty. They saw finely equipped

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hospitals [and doctors and nurses. They saw the wonderful motor transport. They saw wounded men coming in. They were in the midst of the din and bustle of war, but where was the war itself ? The nearer they went to it, the more it seemed to recede !

A few weeks, and there came an order for their return to Marseilles and re-embarkation. What could it mean ? Was it for going home, without any fighting ? Where was his uncle all this time ? Where was Kalyan Singh ? Nothing had been heard of either since he left Ambala.

From Marseilles they went to Alexandria, then on to Mudros, the little land-locked port in the island of Lemnos. All this time Lachhmanwa was still with him,—but a new bond had been forged between them. Lachhmanwa had been ill of fever and had been nursed back to strength by the care of Rahman.

On the 23rd April, St. George's Day, the transports stood out from Mudros to Tenedoes. Warships were ready to take the men to Gallipoli, that meeting ground of nations in 1915. What different kinds of men assembled there !—Australians, New Zealanders, Tasmanians, Fijians, Canadians, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Pathans, English from Hampshire and the West Riding and all parts of "this sceptred isle," Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Zionists, French, Senegalese,—men of clean limbs and stout hearts, who knew no fear. At the call of duty they met danger with a song. The chorus of "Australia will be there" mingled with the more melancholy chants of the Indian muleteers.

As Ralph Hodgson has sung :—

"The song of men all sorts and kinds,
As many tempers, moods and minds
As leaves are on a tree,
As many faiths and castes and creeds,
As many human bloods and breeds
As in the world may be."

No one had slept the previous night, for the morrow was to see them transferred to the unknown scene of action. The excitement and the anticipation were intense. Abdur Rahman felt that he was indeed living now. When he saw the old collier, with a big hole in its side, pouring its men through this hole into the lighter which was to take them to the coast, how eager he felt! At last his turn came. Hardly was he firm on his legs with the movement of the small boat, when all the men leapt into the water. The dawn had begun at first to steal silently across the cliffs, but was rudely disturbed by the tremendous fire of the enemy. There was no time to lose. They swam or waded ashore. It was quick work. The dhobi was slow of foot, and stumbled with his *patra* * into a hole. Abdur Rahman came quickly to his rescue and got him under cover.

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* The board on which a dhobi washes clothes.

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But now what a scence was enacted before their eyes! Boats capsizing in the water and their occupants struggling through the surge, which was now being whipped to a bloodstained froth by the enemy's machine guns. The lighters seemed refractory, and in the strong current, got into position with difficulty. Heart-rending cries mingled with the wild and defiant shouts of the men who were fighting for their landing. Wounded men were being dragged through the barbed wire which stretched criss-cross on the sandy coast. Bursting shells were falling all around them.

After fierce fighting a landing was made, but not without terrible losses. In some places they landed with the odds against them of 5 to 1, and had to re-embark next morning. But on the whole they made good, not in one or two, but in five landing-places.

For the first ten days and ten nights there was ceaseless fighting, ending in an advance of 5,000 yards from the landing-places. The Indian troops were in the 29th Division, but saw a good deal of the New Zealanders and Australians. The Indians were older men, but they were soon on good terms with the young dare-devil "boys" from the southern hemisphere. These were free and unconventional, and there was such a ring of genuineness in all their mirth and laughter. Some of them knew Hindustani, having already been in India or having worked with Indian labourers in Fiji. Abdur Rahman soon had friends among them. They called him "Johnny" familiarly. At first he did not like the name at all, but he soon grew used to it, and it even became a hall-mark of friendship. The New Zealanders showed their adaptability to the new conditions by discarding their slouch hats and adopting the Indian Shola topi, which made them look very much like English officers out in India. The Gurkhas chummed up to them and took to their slouch hats. The "boys" in their turn sometimes came up to "have a feed." They asked for "those curries" and the flat "Johnny cakes," the name they gave to the homely chapatis.

After a severe attack in May, in which the 29th Division was reduced to only half its number, and the officers were nearly all but one-third killed, the brave fellows had to fall back for want of ammunition. They were sorely tried by blinding heat and thirst, for every drop of water had to be carried from Mudros or Mitylene. The mules were often watered from holes dug in the sand. Heavy attacks were constantly made by the enemy, who knew the country well, and were prepared to face the natural difficulties. The flies added another plague to the many in that peninsula! Rain came down in torrents and reminded them of the monsoons in India, with just such sultry heat between showers as they experienced in the month of Asarh or Sawan. Blossoms of flowers were blown into the bodies of men by shell-bursts.

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Fighting in these conditions continued for many days and nights, and the want of sleep became their normal habit. In one of the enemy attacks Abdur Rahman found one of the New Zealanders lying in a gully, sorely wounded. Tenderly he lifted him out and used all the knowledge he possessed of first aid to revive him. As he lifted the wounded man on to his shoulder to carry him back to the lines, he heard a faint voice say, "Is that you, Johnny?" For ever after that, the two men felt a special and personal tie between them.

Little did Rahman think, when he learnt English at his village school, that he would ever use it among soldiers from distant parts of the Empire, fighting side by side in Gallipoli !

While camped at "Brighton Beach" and "Shrapnel Gully," Lachhmanwa became a great favourite with both men and officers in the Indian as well as the Australian and New Zealand Corps. They were at "Brown's Dip" not far off. Not far to the south was the spot nicknamed "casualty corner," from the dangerous bathing at that place. There was a commanding hill from which enemy snipers were constantly busy against our men. It came to be regularly known as "Snipers' Nest." Various devices were tried against it, and the Australian camp was full of stories, such as that of the daring Sikh who borrowed a Gurkha's kukri and cut off a sniper's head. But the snipers continued to levy toll. Bathing, washing, and swimming were among the few luxuries permitted in those days of heat, stress and fury. There was shelter under some barges, but there was a constant game between the snipers and our men getting to the shelter and swimming out. Lachhmanwa knew the danger, but he calmly went and did his work of washing the clothes. To accord with the spirit of the men around him, he sang as he washed. Standing there with his *patra* on the beach and his laundry being knocked against it in the surf with might and main, he became known as the "bathing barometer;" for he knew when bathing and swimming were safe and when they were not, and gave permission or withheld it accordingly. Lachhmanwa himself could speak no English although he washed the clothes of the Anzacs as well as those of his own corps. Rahman acted as interpreter, and unpretentious as he was, he got something of reflected glory from the dhobi's heroism. For the dhobi refused to leave his post although he was twice wounded.

Among the Gurkha friends of Rahman was Ranbir Singh, who took part in the famous exploit of his regiment (the 6th Gurkhas), on the night of May 10th-11th. The objective was a Turkish position on high ground with powerful bastions. Ranbir Singh and his fellow scouts descended to the sea, worked the broken ground and tried to crawl with their hands and knees up the precipitous face of the cliff. Their daring reconnaissance was quite one of the most important events of the

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Gallipoli campaign, and Ranbir Singh was severely wounded. His friend Rahman, however, nursed him and brought him back to health and strength. Ranbir Singh vowed to have his revenge on the enemy. Little did either Rahman or Ranbir Singh realise at the time what the cost of their quest for vengeance was going to be.

The end of June saw Rahman busy again with wounded comrades. A big attack was hurled against Anzacs at midnight, and resulted in some desperate fighting. There were many casualties, and much sickness and dysentry from the swallowing of flies in their food and drink, and the blinding storms, and through it all, Rahman and his muleteers and the Indians and the Anzac corps continued to sustain their brave spirits by mutual help and cheerful service in every shape and form.

The month of July saw little except desultory and local fighting. But big preparations seemed to be going on by land and sea. Though their objective, as we know now, was higher up the North, the campaign was one, and events on the peninsula acted and reacted on one another. Rahman could scent something lively in the air, but he was discreet enough to keep to himself even such conjectures as he formed for himself. Quiet movements of troops seemed to be going on on the Peninsula or from across the water, and stores and ammunition were being replenished. The muleteers and sepoys often asked him questions. Even the Daffadars and "Native" officers loved to talk to the "Babu-ji," for he was reported to be wonderfully wise. But his wisdom did not lack its two counterparts; *viz.*:—discretion, shown in silence; and sympathy, shown in his kindly interest in the anxieties and personal disappointments of his comrades. He also spread a cheerful influence around him, and called attention eagerly to anything that braced up their hopes and nerved their courage. There were not wanting gloomy croakers, but the general feeling grew that the lull was just a prelude to the storm that was to sweep all before it, and carry the standards of the Sarkar to victory.

In August came the big landing at Suvla Bay. Thirty thousand men, including a Brigade of Gurkhas, arrived from Imbros, Mudros and Mitylene, and brought guns and stores with them. It was to be a surprise for the enemy. The men landed in pitch darkness. They had to wade through deep water, for the young officers in charge of the boats dared not risk the sound of the boats' keels grating on the beach and the consequent betrayal of their secret. Once landed, the men pushed on towards their objective, a ridge between Chunuk Bair and Hill Q. They reached the ridge in the early morning, and as the Gurkhas looked across towards the other side a mighty cry arose. The rising sun revealed the silver waters of the Hellespont!

Abdur Rahman went about like a knight-errant, seeking for the fallen and the wounded among the scrub and in the

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sand, to bring them such help as he could give. Nothing daunted him. His heart was glad when a cheer was raised, but he also knew that there would be more work for first-aid and ambulance, and he seemed to be everywhere, scouting on his self-imposed errand of mercy. On the great night of the 9th-10th August, he did mighty work in the dark and sultry night. Going up the ridge he was able to put on their way many men who had lost their way in the scrub. Torn and lacerated he still scrambled up and wandered. By the crooning of a song he knew in the dark his friend Ranbir Singh, who went up with his Gurkhas. Ranbir's voice was full of confidence. His motto for the day was "*Chalo! Barho!*"—push on and on! On he went with them, carried away with a tide of feeling that lifted his very soul. The "false dawn" was giving place to the true dawn. It was like a magic sunrise through the haze, over the tops of the hills on the Asiatic shore. It did not seem like this earth. They seemed to be bathing in a sea of dim and mysterious light. The very wings of victory seemed to be fluttering in their ears. What a moment for life—and death!

Suddenly, from whence they could not tell, a devastating fire swept the hill tops. The brave Gurkhas, ready and eager for battle, were in the midst of it. Few survived to relate their first impression of looking on the Dardanelles, and neither Ranbir Singh nor Abdul Rahman were among that little band. Both were blown to atoms. No trace could ever be found of them.

* * * * * *

So Abdur Rahman was reported "missing." Many men were reported missing after that action. There was little margin that day between the dead and the missing. The search went on from day to day. Many could speak of having seen Abdur Rahman or heard his friendly voice that night,—here, there, and everywhere. But no one could speak of his last moments and there were no survivors of the band who were silhouetted on that ridge and swept off by a murderous fire while dreaming a dream of glory,—no living survivors, and not even fragments of the bodies of those who died, to witness to their death!

Lachhmanwa was dazed, and refused to be comforted. He could not wash his clothes. He could scarcely cook or eat his food. His dearest friend and master was snatched away from him. He could not even get any news of his last moments. Where was the hallowed spot that held his remains? Could he find his body? Day after day he searched, in all likely and unlikely places. All considerations of his own safety he scattered to the winds. He even crossed the enemy's lines. But the found never a trace, never a clue.

In any case the bond of brotherly love would have urged Lachhmanwa to seek for his friend's body. But there was a sacred promise which must be fulfilled. Both Rahman and Lachhmanwa had come from the

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same little district in India. Each had vowed that in the event of one of them being killed, the survivor was to take a dear relic of the martyr to those who loved him best. If the survivor was in danger, he was to think of that relic, and pass it on and on, with a dying man's injunctions to speed it on its way home.

Abdur Rahman's relic was to be his mother's ring which he wore on the fourth finger of his right hand. It was an emerald ring, of Deccan workmanship, two hundred years old. "If I am in any danger, Lachhmanwa," he used to say, "I shall give the ring to you as a sacred trust, and you shall carry it to my mother to show that you were faithful to me to the last. You will tell her how I died, and she will believe you and honour you, and she will know that the message you bring is true. And if I am rushed into danger, and cannot give you the ring, at least find my body; see that the last sacred rites are done, and take that relic. If you are in danger of death yourself, yet arrange that that sacred relic reaches my mother. And I promise to do the like office for you!"

But Abdur Rahman had been in danger every day and night and had never thought that the time had come for passing on that ring! Lachhmanwa climbed to dangerous heights, crawled up and down slopes and precipices, searched through dangerous debris, scoured through Deres and Nullahs, examined wood and scrub, trench and beach,—even looked into the faces of dead men, friend and enemy,—to recover the sacred treasure and fulfil his friend's dearest wish. He failed to find it. What should he do? How could he go back without it? What could he say to Abdul Rahman's sorrowing mother? Where was the son's parting message? What token would vouch for his (Lachhmanwa's) faith?

He had neither facts nor words at command to tell that mother of her son's heroism and death. No token could he take to soothe her aching heart, or to prove with what ardour that son cherished his mother's love to the last moment of his life. But the mother knew, and the mother also cherished her son's memory. And she saw a vision even in those dark days of 1915, which was not fulfilled till the fall of 1918. A gifted daughter of India interpreted that mother's heart in words which she put into the mouth of Mother India:—

"Can ye measure the grief of the tears I weep
Or compass the love of the watch I keep?
Or the pride that thrills through my heart's despair
And the hope that comforts the anguish of prayer?
And the far sad glorious vision I see
Of the torn red banners of victory?
When the terror and tumult of hate shall cease
And life be refashioned on anvils of peace,
And your love shall offer memorial thanks
To the comrades who fought in your dauntless ranks
And you honour the deeds of the deathless ones,
Remember the [illegible] martyred sons."

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Sir Asutosh Mukerjee: A Study. *

By SIR P. C. RAY, Kt. D. SC., C. I. E., Ph. D.

I have been asked to contribute a few lines delineating the main features of the work of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee in the field of higher education in Bengal.

The history of Calcutta University, for the last quarter of a century is emphatically the biographical record of this great educationist—every department of it, even in the minutest details, bears the indelible impress of his industry and genius. In fact, it is impossible to think of our University now without him. From 1857 onwards, *i. e.* from the foundation of Calcutta University, an illustrious roll of Vice-Chancellors, each according to his capacity, added their quota for its up-building and it would be ungracious not to acknowledge our obligations to them; but it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that in their case, devotion to University affairs was a thing apart, but it has been Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's whole existence—the very breath of his life. The impetus, which the Post-Graduate teaching has recently received, is mainly due to his initiative, resourcefulness and indefatigible energy. As a member of the Committee, appointed by the Government of India, to report on Post-Graduate Studies in connection with the various colleges, it fell to my lot along with my colleagues to affix my signature, after due deliberation, to the Report. I confess, I did so, in a half hearted manner. I had just retired from my post at the Presidency College, after my connection with it for more than a quarter of a century. I then cherished the fond hope that the premier institution of the land, should continue to foster scientific researches, and it was with mixed feelings that I watched the ushering into existence of a *rival* institution, so to speak. I was soon disillusioned. Recent events have amply justified the foresight and wisdom of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. Evidently, there is no continuity of policy in the Education Department. Alas! "the premier institution" has been allowed to fall away, from its old traditions. I had recently occasion to say elsewhere: "Take, for example, the chairs in the Presidency College of Calcutta, probably the premier college in India. The Chairs are as

* Foreword to an interesting life of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee by Mr. Phanindranath Bose.

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well-paid as any, in the world, and the advantages and facilities afforded to the professors are the best available in India. There is sometimes the honoured tradition of an Eliot or a J. C. Bose or a Pedler connected with some Chair. Naturally when a vacancy arises the aim should be to fill up the posts by able and enthusiastic workers on the subject so as to preserve the tradition and the continuity of the fame attached to such a post. But what happens under the service system? Either a raw, untried graduate is brought out from England or it automatically falls to some senior man in the service whose only title to the post is his seniority, which often goes hand-in-hand with senility."†

But, on the other hand, the University Post-Graduate classes, both in the Arts and Science departments, have attracted some of the best intellects of the land, many of whom have sacrificed brighter prospects in life for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. What has been achieved in this direction, I tried to summarise in this way:—"After all, Calcutta is the only place where you have got something like an intellectual atmosphere, and a variety of fortuitous causes have conspired to bring it about. I am not blind to the numerous defects of my own University, but this much I may be permitted to add that thanks to the genius and organising capacity of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, a band, I had almost said, a galaxy of talents and researchers have been mobilised in the service of the University, such as has never been witnessed in the intellectual history of India, unless we go back to the days of Vikramadiya of Ujjain, and of Nalanda, and Takila."‡

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee has a happy knack of discovering merit, whether it be in a brilliant young student, fresh with academic laurels or in the middle-aged scholar, who, by dint of industry, has especialised himself in any branch of learning. He is always on the look-out for securing such men and it must be said that he has generally succeeded in filling the University chairs with scholars of merit.

People marvel at Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's prodigious capacity for work. Judges of the High Court naturally look forward to the long vacation in order that they may enjoy their well-earned repose. But Sir Asutosh Mukerjee evidently welcomes it

† Presidential Address: Indian Science Congress, 1920.
‡ Presidential Address: Assam Students' Conference, 1919.

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in order that he might devote his whole-hearted attention to the multifarious demands of his *Alma Mater*. It is no unusual sight to find him during the holidays at the Darbhanga Buildings from 11 A. M. to 8 P. M. toiling on like a Hercules and putting his shoulders to the wheels of the elaborate machinery. To an ordinary mortal, the duties attached to a High Court Judgeship might be considered as arduous and all-engrossing, but they seem to occupy only a fraction of his time and energy. All the same, his decisions are characterised, I understand, by a thorough grasp of the subject and evince a great depth of learning, which are of great value to students of law and practising lawyers. Indeed, he is destined to be regarded as no unworthy successor of a Barnes Peacock or a Dwarka Nath Mitter.

Time was when a High Court Judgeship was looked upon as a prize appointment, but of late somehow or other, it has lost its prestige and charm. To me it has always appeared to be a bitter irony of fate, that a towering genius like Sir Asutosh Mukerjee should be cribbed, cabined and confined within the four walls of the judicial sanctum. A membership of the Executive Council—Imperial or Provincial—or a Minister's portfolio ("a transferred" subject)—is now within the easy reach of an average talent. However, I am not without hopes, that at no distant date Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's remarkable abilities will find ample scope in the Executive Government, either Imperial or Provincial, though I must say that his temperament is cast in a mould which may not quite fit in with the requirements of the cabinet system.

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee has made immense sacrifices in order to serve his *Alma Mater*; as he himself once exclaimed in the deep anguish of his heart:—"To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly, to some extent, the interests of family and friends, and certainly, I regret to say, a good part of my health and vitality." To do him justice, he himself never for a moment "repines at the sacrifices made" to quote his own words. From a mere examining body, he has raised our University to the proud position of a real teaching University with the very inadequate means at his disposal. The niggardliness of the Government of India has hampered him in a variety of ways. To him has been committed the thankless task of making bricks without straw; he has not, however, shirked his responsibility, but has manfully stood to his post.

Nature often takes delight in perfo[illegible] wanton freaks. At [illegible]mes, she rears a giant tree with o[illegible] branches—the

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lord of the forest—which sucks so much nourishment from the adjacent soil that only dwarfish shrubs can grow round about. The commanding intellect and indomitable perseverance and iron will coupled with his determined manner, might prove inimical to the growth of the man, who one day might be expected to step into the vacant place. Great men often times have great faults. Sir Asutosh Mukerjee has his full share of them, but it is not the occasion nor the place to deal with them.

The welfare of the student community has been near and dear to the heart of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee and his approachability is a striking trait of his character. He is accessible to one and all at all hours of the day. Any student who has a grievance, real or fancied, finds ready admission to his presence, and he opens his purse-strings ungrudgingly to indigent students seeking his help.

The future historian of the Calcutta University, when dealing with the career of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, will have no hesitation in concluding with the line :—

"For his Alma Mater he lived and
In her services he wore himself out."

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The Currency Report.

By Mr. S. A. PANDE, M. A., LL. B.

DURING war was appointed a Committee to examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice and upon the position of the Indian note issue, and to consider whether in the light of this experience and of possible future variations in the price of silver modifications of practice and system may be required, to make recommendations as to such modifications, and generally as to the policy that should be formed with a view to meeting the requirements of trade, to maintain a satisfactory monetary circulation and to ensuring a stable gold exchange standard.

The committee, presided over by Sir Henry Babington Smith, issued their report on the 22nd November, 1919, and it was made available to the Indian public on the second day of February 1920 along with a notification of the Secretary of State for India putting forth the scheme which the Indian Government will adopt in future in accordance with the suggestions in the report.

Because of the limited number of the copies of the report being available to the public some of the Indian newspapers have published *in extenso* the full text of the report; the students and others interested in the subject must of course have referred to papers like the Bombay *Times*, and *Chronicle* for the same. It is, therefore, proposed to examine in this article the general tone and nature of the report, its main recommendations and the effects of the same on Indian welfare.

The task is onerous because of the complex nature of the subject and because of the wide gulf of opinions between the members of the Committee themselves; equally confusing is the reception given to the report in India by the press and other public bodies. It will be sometime before the public can clarify their ideas on the subject, and let us hope, in course of time, all this seeming disorder of views which can be called the result of a hasty judgment will put in order; all of us will take time to settle our ideas; in the meantime let us take stock of so much of the situation as would appear to be beyond the pale of controversy and doubts; and even having done this, let us be ever ready in future to be open to correction by giving patient attention to all ideas pronounced from time to time on this topic.

The committee had to examine, as would appear from their terms of reference with which opens this article, first, the effects of war on Indian currency and exchange system, including the note issue; this they have done in the first thirty-two paragraphs of their report, in

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which they examine very clearly indeed, the operations of war since the year 1914 ; the reading of this situation is at once, interesting, instructive and graphic. The first eight paragraphs deal with the system as it existed at the outbreak of war ; they can be left off as already known to all. On the outbreak of war, there was a weakening of exchange, that is the exchange rate showed an inclination of going below 1*s.* 4*d.* per rupee which catastrophe was avoided by the proved expedient of reverse councils which were sold to the extent of 8,707,000£ between the two dates of 6th August, 1914 and 28th January, 1915; there were two more periods of exchange-weakness, in 1915-16 and between November 1918 and April 1919, when again reverse councils were sold to the extent of 4,893,000£ and 5,465,000 respectively. With these exceptions Indian exchange remained strong throughout the period.

The second event after the outbreak was the run on the savings banks. On 31st July, 1914, the total deposits amounted to 24¼ crores of rupees; in the year 1914-15, the amount of over eight crores of rupees was withdrawn out of which some six crores were withdrawn in the first two months of August and September 1914; subsequently, however, this excitement abated and the former state was restored in 1918-19.

The third incident was the rush to encash the notes ; from 31st July, 1914 to 31st March, 1915, the net circulation of notes fell from 66·28 crores of rupees to 55·65, the silver in the paper currency reserve having fallen proportionately; but from the spring of 1915 there has been a steady increase when in 1919 November the net circulation stood at 178·93 crores.

Both silver and gold were issued for notes ; but gold payment was suspended as it was found that the same was being exported ; the readiness of the Government to encash notes restored all public calmness in no time.

The situation then was normal till the year 1916, when, the silver price having gone high, due to causes which the report delineates in paras 11 to 20, our currency difficulties began which led to a rise in exchange on which topic I have written in detail in the December issue of the "Indian Review." The heavy balance of trade on private account in India's favour and the heavy disbursements that the Government of India had to make an account of the Imperial Government for war purposes, led to a huge demand of currency on a scale never experienced before; the payment had to be made in India either in silver or gold, or, wherever acceptable, in notes. The supply of silver to India was reduced because of the reduced output of silver from mines, and the heavy world demand which raised the price of silver; this, we are told, was further aggravated by the influence of the dollar-sterling exchange which last, simply—stated, means that because of the unfavorable balance of trade

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of England with respect to America, every English £ used to purchase less of any American commodity than before and as silver was necessarily purchased for us in London from America by the Secretary of State in terms of and with English sterling, it was a dearer commodity for us in India than it otherwise would have been.

Silver was thus dearer, gold was not to be had because of an embargo on exports of gold by all countries, and notes could not be paid in any amount if they were not to be inconvertible, which danger had to be specially averted during the war; but export trade, both private and Government, had to be paid for. Under such circumstances the Secretary of State had to limit the sales of council bills and had to increase even the rate at which they could be sold or paid for in India. The situation was that huge purchases for export and for war were made and were being made in India, but there was no currency available to pay for them; this grave situation was mitigated by measures which are depicted in paras 21 to 29 of the report. They were, restriction on the amount of council bills to be sold, (2) raising their rate of sale from 1*s.* 4*d.* per rupee to 1*s.* 6*d.* and more, (3) purchase of as much silver as possible both in America and other open markets; (4) conservation and economy in the use of silver by preventing its export and melting by legislation, and using nickel coinage up to 8 anna, piece and issue of notes of smaller denominations; (5) acquisition and use of gold by acquiring all imports of gold, and putting it in the paper currency reserve and issuing notes on this basis, as well as by the issue of gold Mohurs and sovereigns from the Bombay mints, and lastly by increasing the note issue and making it partly inconvertible though the commissioners put it in different terms. Notes were issued by increasing the fiduciary basis. This above in a nutshell is their picture of the currency situations up-to-date. Having done this, the Committee took up the second item of their terms of reference, namely, to suggest such modifications in the currency and exchange system as they would think desirable in the light of the war-experience and the possible fluctuations in the price of silver; to this part they have devoted the rest of their report from paragraphs 33 to 88 in which they include all the remaining terms of their reference also, namely, to indicate the policy in the matter of the requirements of trade, to maintain a satisfactory monetary circulation and to insure stable exchange.

In this connection, paras 33 to 46 indicate their conclusion that stability of exchange is a healthy condition for trade and production and that we should try to ensure stability of exchanges.

In paras. 37 to 41 they examine the proposals current in the air about restoring stability—such proposals as reduction of the fineness or weight of silver-rupee, coining a debased 2 or 3 Rupee coin with less silver or introduction of a nickel Rupee or inconvertibility of notes.

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None of these proposals find favour with them ; they reject them all with reasons and suggest in paras 42 and 43 that in view of the rise and scarcity of silver, the rupee should be in future valued at 2*s*. ; they are against making notes inconvertible.

Paras 44 to 54 deal with the effects of this high rate of exchange on all economic activity of the nation. This we shall deal with later on in this article.

In paras 55 to 59, the report deals with the question of the linking of the rupee with sovereign or the gold contents of the sovereign and after discussing the pros and cons of the question, they come to the conclusion that as gold value will remain more stable in future than sterling-value, and as stability is our goal, the rupee should be linked with gold in the sovereign than with the sovereign itself.

Para 60 deals with two flimsy objections to this new arrangement and paras 61 and 62 deal with arrangements to be made for the trade-requirements, as per terms of reference and suggest that council drafts may be sold as before by the Secretary of State to avoid shipments of gold to India in settlement of her favourable balance of trade as it is no good to send more gold to India than the public would have; there is, however, no obligation though there is no objection also ; for the present the sales would of course remain limited. Reverse councils may be sold by the Government of India without previous permission of the Secretary of State. Paras 63 to 74 deal with the means and the policy to be adopted with regard to the export and import of precious metals for ensuring sound monetary circulation in the country, and paras 75 to 82 show what should be done to put the note-issue of the realm on a sound monetary basis. Paras 82 to 85 give the location of the gold standard reserve and its composition ; thus paragraphs 63 to 85 deal with what should be done to ensure a sound monetary circulation in the country which problem was included in the terms of reference ; thus all problems set to the committee for solving are solved by them.

In para 87 they give the resume of their recommendations while paras 86 and 88 record the Committee's appreciation of their colleague, Mr. Dalal, and their secretaries. This finishe's the brief statement of the committee's report.

According to the recommendations of the currency committee the future form of currency should and will be the gold sovereign and half sovereign to be an unlimited legal tender to be coined at the Bombay royal mint in exchange for gold bullion offered by the public as well as on other occasions whenever the rupee supply gets depleted due to silver scarcity or other reasons.

Rupee will remain the unlimited legal tender with the same contents of silver but linked to gold and valued at 2*s*. per rupee ; if, even for a long period silver should be so as to disturb this parity of 2*s*; the

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situation should be met by reduction of council bills for sale, abstention from purchase of silver, and use of gold to meet currency. If purchase of silver be still necessary, it should be purchased rather at a loss than that the exchange rate should be again disturbed.

Nickel coinage existing on this date is stamped with approval by the report.

Notes as before are to be issued but their metallic backing is to be 40% of the total circulation; also notes will be issued to meet seasonal demand up to five crores over and above the maximum fiduciary issue of 120 crores as loans to presidency banks on the security of export bills. The Committee thus have not supported in full the long-felt want of gold currency of the Indian public ; there still lurks behind their recommendations the conservative fear that if India is made a gold-standard country, she will require all the gold of the world in satisfaction of her favourable balance of trade and thus the European banks would be emptied of all their business based on gold. The European financiers still prize the old doctrine of mercantilists that precious metals are wealth, and should never be parted with; of course the Committee have the sympathy of the Chamberlain Commission and because of the dearth of silver, they know they will have to issue some gold currency, and hence they go a step further than their predecessors, and give India a gold mint at Bombay, but they still think that gold is an uneconomical form of currency and should be available only for foreign remittance and therefore recommend an expansive use of currency notes for which the encashment facilities are efficiently provided. The report thus would be felt to be unsatisfactory in this one respect though it goes a little further than the previous report in this matter of gold standard.

About the location of reserves also they are a little more liberal than the Chamberlain Commission; while whole of the paper currency reserve will be put in India, much of gold standard reserve will be now placed in India, though the present sterling security will be maintained at their present extent Inasmuch as they do not find fault with the mechanism of council bills, which has necessarily kept India a silver-standard country, it appears they still want us to remain mainly a silver-using country.

This belief is further confirmed by the fact that they recommend the valuation of exchange at 10 Rupees for sovereign to enable the Government to issue rupees without loss to maintain the present level of the rupee circulation. Had they recommended the old exchange ratio, so much alvocated by Mr. Dalal, they knew India would have to be supplied with more gold and thus would have been looked upon with anxiety by the European bankers. They prize the Rupee reserves so much that in future Government will not undertake to supply Rupees in exchange for-

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sovereigns for internal use. The removal of emargo on gold exports and imports but maintaining the same on silver exports also prove the same point.

Theoretically all countries keep their gold reserves only for remittance to foreign countries and never use it in internal circulation and hence our arrangement would not look so much objectionable. The Committee in para 33 have criticized all the previous three committees for their non-observance of the possibility of high prices of silver in framing proposals for the constitution of gold standard reserve and the currency system in general, but it would appear that this committee has also committed the reverse fallacy of not taking into account the fact that silver may fall in value also soon after this war-and-after-war excitement is over, when it would be a heavy tax on India to pay her at 10 Rs. instead of Rs. 15 per £ worth of her goods and thus save enormous profits on coinage of Rupees.

Again under this system, we are being made to accept less quantity of a dear metal in exchange for our goods, unit for unit, when we are not eager to have it in preferance to gold and thus are put to a loss as Mr. Dalal says, and this loss would be heavier if this metal were to be cheaper still in future. Why should we be made to buy a commodity when it is dear and when we do not urgently want it?

Again, this arrangement by preventing rise in prices will put debtors to loss by mitigating their profits and thus disabling them from discharging their debts to advantage and India is largely a country of agricultural debtors and producers who would have blessed this state of old exchange and high prices for some time at least. Agriculturists and poor people will not bless this arrangement for above reasons as it will put fewer rupees in their pockets for their exports. Again the evils of high prices and outflow of exports, if both are evils in one sense, will not be cured by this arrangement: India is linked with the world level of prices. As long as they remain high, India also will have a high level. Also Indian exports will continue to go out as before but with less money. Some of these and other effects of a high exchange I have already dealt with. The Committee deal with these in their report in paras 44 to 54. The committee think this rise will not much hamper the nascent industries of India; on the whole they think this rise is not injurious to Indian interests. This part of the incidence of loss or otherwise on India is very intricate and no precise date being available, it would be difficult and dangerous to generalize; some propositions with respect to the effects on India of this rise, laid down by the Committee, may be true, others may be false; as I said in the beginning on this topic we all shall have to take our time to pronounce [illegible] judgments. It will, perhaps, by reducing

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Indian exports and increasing imports, help England and other countries to reduce their present adverse exchange and heavy indebtedness to India; and if continued long may, perhaps, as Mr. Dalal suggests, set the balance of trade against her.

While from the commercial point of view this rise is not all benefit, from the national point of view, it may perhaps be not an unmixed evil; by reducing prices of Indian goods in terms of Rupees, at least, of such goods of which India has no monopoly, it may check money, crops and increase food-grains and thus render food cheap, which is certainly desirable.

We have thus cleared much ground up till now; the general and the broad situation is reconnoitered; further discussion is rendered more easy; and all of us will do it at leisure in future whenever ideas crop up. The report has stirred all quarters; I find at once the rate of cotton gone down. In Bombay there is, they, say all stir. Exporters and importers must naturally suffer for they have purchased when prices were dear and will have to sell when prices are cheap; but we have no sympathies with merchants. They have lightly made huge profits during the war; let them lose the same if time wants. We have to judge by the greatest good of the greatest number and this the report perhaps achieves in some directions. Let us however wait and see and who knows our judgment may change in the light of actual experience; this much may, however, be said that after all we are introducing make-shifts. Permanent palliatives only would cure the misery of the world; let us hope the report is one.

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The Humbler Anglo-Indian.

By Mr. St. NIHAL SINGH.

AS I go about Britain I come across a type of retired Anglo-Indian far removed from that which one generally has in mind. This type, which is to be found everywhere in the United Kingdom, does not belong at all to the ruling class, has never been to the 'Varsity,' has no chance of lording it over Indians, and has no particular desire to keep Indians in the leading strings. He certainly does not enjoy a fat pension or income out of past savings, but is altogether an humble individual who cannot afford to idle about, but has, in fact, to turn his hand to any work he can get to do. To him India is a land of romance where he passed the happiest days of his life, where he had men and women who served him instead of being compelled not only to serve himself but others as well, and to which he would fain return, not to drive Indians about, but to pursue what to him would be an idyllic existence.

How well I remember the first Anglo-Indian of this type that I ever met. I had been in Britain but a day or two. It happened in this way:—

An eminent English editor had invited me to take luncheon with him. Though we had corresponded for long, I was to meet him for the first time at his office, whence we were to go to the Holborn restaurant, within a stone's throw of his sanctum, for our lunch. As I stepped into the ante-room where a notice in a conspicuous place invited visitors to wait, a tall, somewhat lanky man with fair hair and brown eyes accosted me. "You are Mr. Singh, sir?" he asked, and when I answered in the affirmative he told me that the "Chief" was expecting me, and he would go directly and inform him of my arrival But instead of going, he began to tell me that he was an ex-army man. He had spent six years in India—the most delightful years of his life. Then he went on to relate how he had walked through the bazars —with their fascinating smells, so different from those of London town. How he missed the Indian sun! That happened to be a particularly foggy morning and you could hardly see anything across the na[illegible]t. That gloom, he said, gave him

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"nerve". How he wished he could go back to India, to her sun warmth! The wet, cold air of England got into his joints and gave him the "rheumatics." He never had rheumatism in India. And none of those tropical diseases that he had heard people talk about who had never been to India. By Jove! he had not had a single day's illness there—nothing unusual—nothing worse than a headache or a little touch of liver. And how he would like to go fishing in the Indian rivers and hunting the Murghabi —that was the word he used—and chasing the deer! "Your people know how to do us well, sir," he said. "We could always get permission to go into private preserves and shoot, and not merely permission, but again and again we were given hospitality that we would never forget, and sometimes even money. Even the *bhisti* and the camp followers were good to us, and we hugely enjoyed throwing loaves of bread at"—he could not complete his sentence, for a door suddenly opened and a massive head crowned with snow-white hair, piercing, rather greenish eyes, set far apart under a nobly arched forehead, and divided by a strong, rather large nose, with a somewhat shaggy white beard straggling all over the face, was thrust in, and a voice, loud and angry, enquired if "Neehal Saint Singh," in spite of his many years in America, was as unpunctual as all the rest of his countrymen in keeping appointments. Then the editor, for he it was, saw me standing beside his *major domo*, and handsomely apologised, telling me that he had been waiting in his sanctum, chafing every moment of the time because it was press-day and he had wanted to take as long over luncheon as he possibly could, chatting with me. Even though I found that the reputation of my people for punctuality was at stake, I did not have the heart to give away the Englishman who had spoken so kindly of my people, and who looked upon my country as a land of romance and longed to return to it.

Ever after, whenever I went to that office—and I went very often—that gentleman always managed to exchange a word or two with me on something or other pertaining to India. And because my people had been good to him, he tried, in his humble way, to be good to me by announcing my name to the "Chief" earlier than my turn would entitle me, and by bringing me reviews and magazines that he thought would interest me if, perchance, I had to while away a few minutes before I could see the editor.

You meet these delightful Anglo-Indians everywhere. The commissionaire who took my card at the first office that I ever visited in Fleet Street wore upon his [illegible] silver medals

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and bars that he had gained in frontier campaigns. A policeman on point duty in one of London's busiest thoroughfares espied me, one day on the sidewalk and came over to me to escort me across the wide "circus" thinking that, a newcomer from India, I was afraid of the fast-moving traffic. I allowed him to help me without letting him know that I had crossed streets in America where traffic moved much faster. While conducting me across, holding up all traffic as he did so, he told me that he had been out to India and had had a glorious time.

One bright summer day I sat in a corner seat of a tramcar going to South London, where I was living at the time. The window was half-open and looked out upon the driver's platform. Absorbed in the book I was reading, I was startled by a rapping upon the glass pane, and some strange words that I was certain were not English. When I looked up I saw a broad grin upon the face of the driver, who put his hand up to his cap to salute me, and repeated the words. Suddenly it occurred to me that he was saying "Salaam Sahib." I returned his salutation, and you never saw a happier man in your life. It was war-time, and two of his sons were fighting for King and country. He told me that, being an old army man himself who had served out in India, he had started them right. He took an envelope out of an inside pocket and handed it to me through the door, which he had opened in order to talk with me. I found that it contained post-card photographs of his two sons in uniform. They were clean, bright looking fellows, and their father was immensely proud of them. He wanted me to make an appointment so that he could show me some other photographs that he had taken out in India—chiefly photographs of places where he had spent his holidays—and, when I was unable to fix a time for him to call upon me, sent them to me by post. Since then, whenever he has seen me as his car was passing in the street, he has hailed me, always with his cheery "Salaam Sahib."

Then there is "Peachey Sahib", janitor in a local library. He was a gunner out in India, and told me a quaint yarn as to what happened when he first landed at Bombay. He heard the coolies, carrying heavy luggage, saying "Peachey, Sahib, Peachey Sahib," and wondered how it happened that those men had managed to learn his name. Soon enough he learned that they were saying "get back, sir, get back." What yarns that man can spin of the hi[illegible]-times that he had in India!

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In some ways the most interesting Anglo-Indian I have met in Britain is "Fred." I never knew his other name. He is employed by an Indian friend of mine who has a large estate in the country. Fred tends the fires, cleans the boots, and does other odd jobs about the place. Never was a servant more attached to his master, nor more willing and faithful. Very deaf and rheumatic, walking a little heavily, he is always at hand when wanted, and can do almost anything; and always has a smile upon his face. If you want to make him particularly happy, give him something that reminds him of India. One day, on his return from London, my friend gave him an Indian cheroot. Poor Fred's face beamed as he took it and said that he would keep it until Sunday, and smoke it after dinner, and dream of the time when he was out in India and had a cook of his own.

When we in India are thinking of the crusty old men and fretful women who would have us play second-fiddle to them to the end of our existence, let us not forget these other Anglo-Indians who are full of gratitude for the good time that India gave them, and who are constantly singing our praises.

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The Prophet of this Age:—Baha Ollah.

By Mr. PRITAM SINGH, M. A.

BAHA Ollah is the central figure in the Bahai Movement of which Bab was the forerunner. His original name was Mirza Husain Ali and he was born of rich parents in Tehran, the capital city of Persia; his father being a minister in the Royal Court. The year of his birth, 1817 A.D. will ever be remembered as a red letter day in the history of the World. Baha Ollah (Splendour of God) was among the earliest disciples of Mirza Ali Mohammad, the Bab, a short account of whose place in Bahaism has already appeared in the September-October number of the *Hindustan Review*. Very few accounts have come down to us of the early life of Baha Ollah and the first occasion that he came into prominence as a follower of Bab was in connection with the attempt on the life of late Nasiruddin, Shah of Persia in 1852 by a Babi who wanted to revenge himself over the crucifiction of the Bab in Tabrez (1850). The followers of the Bab underwent a terrible persecution though Baha Ollah had to be let off after an imprisonment of four months, as it was proved on investigation and inquiry that he had no complicity in the affair; but he was exiled to Baghdad in Mesopotamia for the sake of expediency. He was thirty-six years of age at that time. Baha Ollah stayed in Baghdad for about 2 years, preaching the Word of God to the people and then retired into the hills of Sulaymania in Kurdistan and he writes as follows of his retirement to his sister-in-law in Tehran—"I kept company with the birds of the plain and dwelt with the beasts of the field, passing beyond this transitory world like spiritual lightning, while for two years or rather less I avoided all beside God and shut my eyes to all but Him....." He returned to Baghdad in 1857, at the request of his friends and relations. The British Government invited him to become a British subject and to reside in India, but Baha Ollah rejected the proposal preferring to abide in the Ottoman dominions.

The Shi'ite divines became inimical to Baha Ollah just as they had become inimical to Bab and they kicked up an agitation against the spread of the cause in Baghdad. The attention of the Ottoman Government was directed to the increasing influence of Baha Ollah and he was called to Constantinople and this happened in 1863 A. D. when Baha Ollah was forty-seven years of age and had been in residence in Baghdad for 11 years.

At Constantinople, Baha Ollah resided for four months and was the guest of the Turkish Government. The intrigues of some of the

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following to Adrianople which they reached in 1863. It was in Adrianople that Baha Ollah for the first time promulgated the 'Tablet of Command', giving the tidings of the Advent of Him who was promised in the *Beyan* by Bab—the John the Baptist of Bahaism. It was at this time that a schism took place between Baha Ollah and Subha i-Azal (half brother) who was regarded by many as the successor of Bab. As a result of this the Turkish Government separated the two brothers and exiled Baha Ollah to Akka (Acre) and Subha-i-Azal to Cyprus. The object was to scatter the community and therefore some of the followers were deported to Sudan and others to Khartom. Many courted death of their own accord and many were put to death and the persecution of the followers of Bab knew no end. (For a description of these persecutions read Mirza Jawad's Historical Epitome, translated by Prof. E. G. Brown in his latest book ('The Babi Religion').

Baha Ollah was 52 years old when he entered the prison at Akka and was a prisoner till his death in 1892, a period of 24 years, and it was from this prison that he proclaimed his teaching to the human race of to-day. It was from this prison that he addressed epistles to the Kings and Rulers of the world and called them to their duty. His works and writings are embodied in a book called *Kitab-ul-Addas* (Most Holy Book) which is a book of commandments for the Bahais and is regarded as the scripture of the Bahai Dispensation. I give below a few quotations just to give an idea of the noble teaching which was given by Baha Ollah for the good of striving humanity. It is not my object to discuss the metaphysics of Bahaism just at present, but I believe Baha Ollah presented to this age one of the grandest philosophies of life, philosophy which is most rational and most practical.

1. Consort with the adherents of all religions with spirituality and fragrance.

2. All of you are the fruit of one tree and the leaves of one branch. It is not for him who loves his country to be proud, but rather for him who loves the whole world.

3. O people of the earth, make not God's religion a cause of hatred! Say, by God's Life, the Doctrine of God and His Religion have come for unity and concord, not for difference and strife.

4. Striking, cursing, war, strife, slaying and plunder are the actions of the wild beasts of the dens of cruelty and ignorance. The people of God are purified and freed from all these things,

5. Deeds are the ally of religion and virtues its aider. O people of Baha, cling fast to virtue.

6. The virtue of man is in service and perfection, not in luxury, affluence and wealth.

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7. Be chaste in your glances, faithful in your hands, truthful in your tongue and mindful in your heart.

8. "When a seeker intends to turn the step of search and journeying into the path of knowledge of the King of pre-existence he must first cleanse and purify his heart, which is the throne for the accession and establishment of the love of the Eternal Beloved".

9. "O people of God! the Word of God is like unto a tree; its planting ground must be the hearts of the people, cultivate it through the river of Wisdom and Utterance, so that its roots may become firm and its branches surpass the firmament.

10. "All my limbs testify that there is No God but Him, and that those whom He quickened with the Truth and sent for men's guidance are the Manifestations of Him and the recipients of His revelation in the realm of Creation."

11. "O people of the earth! Make not the religion of God a cause for variance among you. Verily of a truth, it was revealed for the purpose of unifying the whole world."

12. "O people of the World! Ye are all the fruit of one tree and the leaves of one branch. Walk with perfect charity, concord, affection and agreement".

13. "Let not a man glory in this that he loves his country; let him rather glory in this that he loves his kind".

14. 'It is incumbent upon every one of you to engage in some one occupation, such as arts, trades and the like. We have made this, your occupation, identical with the worship of God, the True One Reflect O people, upon the mercy of God and upon His favours; then thank Him in mornings and evenings".

15. "Waste not your time in idleness and indolence and occupy yourself with that which will profit yourselves and others beside yourself".

16. "Religion is a manifest light and a strong fortress for the protection and tranquility of the people of the world. For the fear of God commands people to do that which is just and forbids them that which is Evil. If the lamp of Religion remain concealed, agitation and anarchy would prevail and the orb of Justice and equity and the sun of peace and tranquility would be withheld from giving light".

17. "Consort with all the people of religions with Joy and fragrance",

18. "God hath prohibited unto men the drinking of wine".

The loftiness of such teaching is unquestionable and there is no wonder that the teaching of Baha Ollah has attracted the attention of the civilised world of to-day. The Bahai cause spread first in Persia in spite of persecutions and has since spread in Europe and America and is claiming attention in this country as well.

I expect to deal with the doctrinal aspect of the Movement and the institutions established by Baha Ollah for the people of to-day, sometime again.

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India and the World-Labour Movement.

By Dr. BISWA NATH MUKERJEE, L. M. S.

I. War—the greatest cause of labour trouble.

It will be admitted on all hands that war is a great worker of change. In his essays on War, Ruskin has said it is the mother of all civilization. And it is true, for if we remember aright it was war that brought about much of the social and political progress of the world. What of the very primitive Governments of India, Greece and Rome, the English Restoration, Italian Renaissance, American Independence and French Revolution? Are they not all wars and their result? Who does not know that it was as a result of the Anglo-French wars that Canada got its self-Government, that it was as a result of the Boer-War that the Dutch people of South Africa were given political autonomy and it has been as a natural consequence of the Russo-Japanese war that Japan is just now reckoned as one of the greatest powers of the world. But the greatest up-heaval in human society is the present labour crisis throughout the whole universe, which is the work of the recent world-wide war. This war between the master and his dependent has been in existence in some form or other since the very creation of the world.

In the earliest stage of civilisation it was a war between the progressive Aryans and the un-civilised non-Aryans. During the middle ages it was a fight between the slave and his feudal master. The American civil wars caused the emancipation of slaves in a portion of the world. The American war of independence freed some millions of white peoples from the intolerable subjugation and oppression of another section of white peoples. The English Restoration was an outcome of a great politico-religious up-heaval in the country in which the cause of a common man was advocated with uncommon masterfulness to the detriment of a usurping prince or priest, which resulted in the creation of a new politico-religious society. The French Revolution established the supremacy of common men over the thrones and aristocracies. But the present war, which seems to usher in a new spirit in the people of India, has immeasureably accelerated the speed of this fight between the weak and the strong. It has changed the very course of the channel of discord. And the tiny stream has now greatly increased its oddy and been unlimited in its volume and dimensions—perhaps as vast and unlimited as an ocean—and has deluged the whole world, India not being excepted. It has now lent a cosmopolitan shape to this fight. So now, the quarrel between the slave and his master in a certain part of the world of the pre-American civil war days, the struggle between the clergy and the masses in England of the pre-British Restoration period and the strife between the French proletariat and French aristrocats and nobles in the age just preceding and following the French Revolution, the disunion noticed in the German socialists and Russian Nihilists with regard to the rest of the population just on the eve of the recent monstrous war, have all combined together and united into one gigantic labour crisis to make a common cause against the capitalist classes all over the world. And hence this labour trouble which is entirely the work of this war.

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2. THE PRESENT LABOUR UP-HEAVAL IN THE WORLD.

This war has sucked the very life-blood of Europe. The history of Europe and for the matter of that the history of the whole world is to be re-cast now. Germany is bankrupt, England is bankrupt, France is bankrupt and Russia is more than bankrupt. The only country which is in a solvent state is America. Now, this condition of the capitalist and aristocratic classes in Europe has lent a great power to the western proletariat to assert and solidify its position. No doubt it has given the strongest impetus to the labour movement all over the world. And Bolshevism is the result. What is it? It is said it is a movement against world-capitalism and had its first origin in Russia. It is a huge fight between capital and labour in the whole world and its incipient growth could even be traced in an age far remote from the American war of independence and the French Revolution. Will it be anything out of place to say here, as has already been admitted by the greatest politicians of Europe and America, that this crusade against the capitalist is the most potent and sublimest development of that proletarian hatred for the aristocrat, the noble and the dogmatist, which set poor men and peasants against the rich and princely class during the American, French and English wars and it prevailed before and during the recent world-war and still prevails in some form or other almost throughout all Europe. In England it exists in the labour agitation for the nationalisation of all industries and mines, in Germany it is represented by the Independent socialist movement, in Asiatic Russia and Turkestan it lives in the hearts of ignorant peasant classes who have been decoyed into the belief of their utterly precarious position by the originators of Bolshevism and in Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Turkey and some parts of Egypt it has the Pan-Islamic and the Suric movements as its mouth-piece and is posing to be a champion and protector of the faith of Islam. There is little doubt that unless the oppression of capital upon labour ceases, unless there is an amicable and mutual settlement between the two, there is no hope of subsiding of this huge world-wide labour agitation. Just now the most vital problem in the life of a nation is that of labour. We find that India has not been able to escape the contagion of this labour rising. Simultaneous and successive labour strikes in London, Paris, Berlin, Washington, Sydney, Montreal and Calcutta show conclusively that India is not outside the pale of this hot labour atmosphere.

3. THE PRESENT CONDITION OF LABOUR IN INDIA.

Economic troubles are the basis of this labour rising all over the world and particularly in India. The continued strikes of the coolies, labourers and mill-hands in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore, Jamalpore, Rangoon and in many other parts of the Indian Empire, the strikes of the clerks and officers of the Indian Railway companies, threats of strike held by the All-India post and telegraph employees and emphatic demands for increased wages and salaries by Indian coolies and meanials, all manifest the depth of the spirit of nationalism in the masses of India and go unmistakeably to show that the problem of labour is daily growing serious in India and that the much-maligned and abominable institution 'labour and capital' is in its embryo in our country. The other day Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis put a question in the Imperial Legislative Council as to what steps have been taken by the Government of India to prevent Bolshevism from spreading here. In reply he has been assured by the Government that all necessary measures are being taken to check it. But to use the words of an ex-judge of Bombay High Court, and one of the greatest leaders of the Moderate

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party, our Government is too slow to discern and move with the times, so it is nothing strange if it hss not been able as yet to grasp the real situation.

It may be said without the least fear of contradiction that the real spirit of nationalism in India has been as yet a creature of poverty and want and not the political aspirations of the people. It is true to a large extent that politics is responsible for it but not wholly. India is just now at a place, where people of England were ten years before, *i.e.* the present demand of Indian labour is only for adequate wages. The Indian labourer wants larger wages than what he is getting just now. The reader knows the lowest rate of wages in India just before the war was 2 or 3 annas for a lad or an inexperienced labourer and 5 or 6 annas for skilled one, but since then it has risen to 5 or 6 annas for the former and 8 or 10 annas for the latter, *i. e*, has almost doubled since the war broke out on the 4th August, 1914. Inspite of this increase in wages, as the Indian Currency Committee has observed in its report, the economic position of a labourer and of men with fixed income in India has grown quite precarious due to abnormally high prices. So the demands for higher wages of labour in our country are fast increasing. And hence a fear for the spread of Bolshevism or in plainer words a labour crisis in the near future. So far as we know the Government has done nothing as yet to relieve the distressed labour situation. Thus taking the instance of the labour strikes of nearly 40,000 men in the Tata Iron Works, situated at Jamshedpur, we find how these strikes are the result of indifference and apathy shown by the general manager, Mr. T. W. Tutwiler.

It is said early in January last a representation was made to him by the workmen of all departments of the Steel Company for a substantial increase in the rate of wages, adequate provision in case of accident and clear rules of service. Though the demands were said to be quite legitimate and proper no due steps were taken subsequently by Mr. Scott, the Deputy Commissioner of Singhum, to meet them and the strike began at 8 a. m. on the 24th February, just nearly a month after the representation was made. As no sympathetic consideration was to be had at the hands of the officials of the Company and the workmen were growing desperate at the economic distress of their position and as violence and confusion was feared, the Bengal Jana Sabha under the direction of Mr. B. Chakravarti quickly despatched Mr. S. N. Haldar to the spot and all disorders were nipped in the bud. We hear the strikers, who are mere illiterate men, wired to Messrs. C. R. Das and B. Chakravarti, and that together with Mr. Halder, Babus N. C. Chatterjee and Padamraj Jain and Pandit Madhub Sukul also went there from Calcutta. It may be asked what measures did Government take to ease the situation. We hear that far from sympathising with their woes and trouble, it, as has now become the rule, sent a military force to put down the would-be rising. But it may be said our Government, whose eyes of wisdom have been very ably opened by the Nationalist leaders in Calcutta for whom it seems to have very little love, may well take a leaf out of latter's book and use their methods in quelling riots in future and so make the Punjab affairs an impossibility in the future Government of India. So consolation and conciliation should be the future ideal of the Government of India and not coercion and repression. We hope our Government's notice will be drawn to it.

This labour strike in India makes one more thing all the plainer. It is this, that the economic distress is fast turning into a political one and compelling the unlettered masses of India to co-operate with their political superiors to carry out their own point; *i. e*, the nationalists and not the bureaucracy

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will be the future representatives of the masses. When we remember that the Indian coolies and labourers have fixed their choice upon Messrs. Tilak, Baptista, Gandhi, Wadia, Chandravarkar as their exponents and mouth-piece we cannot but be quite confident of it. If we count the numbers of the strikers in Cawnpore and Bombay mills and those of other places we shall find they amount to many millions of souls and together with literate clerks of the European merchantile firms and factories and menial and clerical staff of the different railway companies and Planter's Associations and the Indian agricultural labourers, they will come to form the four fifths of the very population of India. And the grievances from which they badly suffer and whose immediate removal they strongly desire may be summed up in the following demands of the strikers of the Tata Iron and Steel works :—(1) Fifty per cent increase in wages, (2) production bonus which is now granted to Europeans only, (3) leave with full pay in all cases of sickness and disability through accident in the works, (4) prompt payment of adequate annuities to the family of persons killed by accident in the works, (5) periodical increments and codification of service rules laying down conditions of dismissal from services, (6) privilege leave of one month in the year on full pay, (7) organisation of a town council with a majority of representatives of the inhabitants on it to deal with questions regarding housing, sanitation, fixing of rents which are at present carried on in an arbitrary manner by the town administrator, Mr. Sawday, (8) holidays should be granted on full pay on important religious festivals as are granted under the Negotiable Instruments Act. In addition to all these, rules should be made to save the labourer from unnecessary fatigue of his muscles, which certainly mars the efficiency of work instead of adding to its out-put. The hours of work should be consistent with the rules of sanitation and hygiene. All over-time duties should be discouraged or made strictly voluntary. Recess periods during a working spell should be introduced in all cases where hard fatiguing work is exacted. Suitable seats and other furniture during work should be supplied to save unnecessary strain on the musscles. Every consideration should be paid to the provision of good drinking water, suitable leisure, place and convenience for workmen's mid-day meals, clean latrines and urinals and provision for washing after work in the interests of sanitation and labourer's comforts. All payment of wages should be ready and should be made everyday at the expiry of the working hours in cases of those labourers who cannot do without it in particular and if possible all labourers in general. A system of provident fund should be created by way of old age relief partly from the nominal savings made by the labourer from his wages and partly from the deposit made from the overflow or excess of profits made by the master employers. There should be established in the country 'Child Labour Unions' against the insidious attacks of all powerful employers of labour. The Factory Act should be improved in India and the Government should seriously take up the formation of a State Board of protection in the interest of factory labour. The duties of such a Board should be to revise unjust fines and to give general relief to all oppressive conditions, besides arbitration in disputes. We think it is an efficient method of carrying out these proposals that can check the flow of Bolshevism from entering the country and not the measures which the Government says it has adopted to suppress and prevent it. May we again point out that it is poverty and want that would help the spread of Russian anarchism in India and not the supposed tendency to lawlessness and disorder as the Government is under a delusion to think about the people of loyal Hindus.

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4. The Future of the Indian Labour.

Strikes and passive resistance are undoubtedly western institutions implanted on the incongenial soil of India. For this our western education is as much to blame as the contact of our Indian coolies and labourers with their European masters and the conditions of people in the west of which these illiterate Indians hear largely from the mouth of their western masters. Moreover the labouring classes in India, through illiterate, unlettered or in some solitary cases half-educated, have been hearing for a long time of labour risings all over the world and unconsciously imbibing these ideas. The indenture of Indian labour and migration of Indians for the last few decades to foreign countries and self-governing dominions of the British Empire and the ungenerous and inhuman treatment meted out to them by the white settlers of these places were perhaps first to force the Indian settlers to go into strike even very much against their wishes long before these turbulent habits were known in this country. Though the main cause of the trouble may well be traced to economic sources, it is undeniable that the standard of living of the Indian coolies and labourers is daily changing, due to the impact of western civilisation. Now that they are pressed hard for their very sustenance it is no wonder that labour strikes and labour agitation for higher and higher wages to enable them to live a happy and prosperous life will be more and more possible and keen in India in the near future.

It is not strange that in course of a few years the labour situation in our country will be as serious as it is just now in England, America, Japan, Europe and in many other parts of the world. Like the labourers and mill hands of the above countries our Indian coolies and mill-hands will press for representation on the directorate and management of the mills. They would say they must have control over the works along with the representative of the capitalists. They will not be satisfied with their empty serfdom, but they will demand a substantial share in the administration of the various works in which they are employed. They will not be satisfied only with the material advantages, but will want to be treated as men and as equals with their masters and this demand will have to be met favourably sooner or later. The war has already bred in the Indian labouring classes a habit and love for drinking tea and other beverages and has accustomed them to take to, though to a very slight extent, the western style of living. This tendency has been very clear since the return from Mesopotamia and France of overwhelming numbers of our lower and depressed classes, who went there as coolies, mill-hands and labourers. They have also infected those of their community who had not been lucky enough to visit these places. But what is to be regretted very much is that like the labouring classes of the west this taking recourse to tea and coffee has been no check upon their habit of intemperance and drunkenness. We hear that the Government has opened an Indian Tea Cess Committee to counter-act the bad influence of drunkenness, but instead of doing any good to the party concerned, it has rather raised the standard of their living and is making them a prey to poverty and indebtedness. As western life and luxury have been gradually proving a very strong bait for the Indian labourer and as the outward circumstances are compelling them to move in an western atmosphere, it is very likely within a very short period of time the demands made by the western labour to-day will find their exact expression in the movement of the Indian labour.

5.—The Causes of Labour Trouble in India.

Broadly speaking, the [illegible] world are at work to bring about a labour up-heaval in India. But chiefly there are

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three things which are likely to accelerate the labour difficulties in the country. They are (1) strained relations between the Indian zemindar and the ryot, (2) growth of a capitalist class in almost all parts of India and (3) the labour situation in England. In western countries where people seldom live upon agriculture as a means of their support the labour is only of one kind, *i e*, industrial or factory labour. But in India where commerce and industry after several centuries of obscure life has just begun to make a head-way and nearly 80 per cent. of whose population are farmers and mainly depend upon agriculture, labour is of two kinds—(1) agricultural and (2) factory or industrial. So almost 95 per cent. of men in India are labourers. Thus it can be easily imagined when once labour will assume its full seriousness how dangerous and difficult it will be for our rulers to stem back its tide.

In the first place it has been noticed of late that the relations between the land-lord or zemindar and his tenants are growing everyday more and more strained. Now it can be safely said their position is becoming as that of the capital and labour in the west. Moreover, the Indian tenants of to-day are nothing better than petty and poor labourers and they have to meet the wishes of their zemindars or mahajans first by working under them as labourers or dependents and secondly by serving others as daily wage-winners. It may be rightly observed here that the Government of India Act by granting some political franchise to the ryot has contributed not a little to further jeopardise their position and we now hear that the zemindars are joining the company of the Anglo-Indian capitalists such as the planters of Behar, Assam and other parts of India and the European merchants and factory and mill-owners in the country to defeat, it is said, the very noble purpose of the Indian educated classes who seem to champion the cause of labour in India. The tactics of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the talukdars of Oudh and the zemindars of the province of Agra are cases in point. The apple of discord is the greater representation and voting power of the tenant-classes. The zemindar, talukdars and land-lords of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Behar, where the strife between the land-lord and his tenants seems to be the thickest, want special representation under the pretended plea and on the assumed strength of their being the only mediators between the Government and the masses. They have also vauntingly given it out that up to this time they have been the real well-wishers and representatives of the masses and the educated middle classes of India who up to 1919 were given the fair chance of representing the rural areas in the District Boards and municipalities have egrigiously failed in their duty. And if they at this time pose to be the champion of the Indian peasants by starting such institutions as the Kisan Sabha or the farmers' association, it is because they have now come to realise the difficulty of their position without the masses of the tenantry to whom goes the lion's share of the voting strength. But who knows if the same fear is not haunting the minds of our zemindars and compelling them to join the party of a people who have no sympathy with everything that is calculated to do good to India? Our zemindars say it is the vested interest of the educated classes that compel them to do so, but cannot the same charge be laid at the farmer's door? Besides this, if the real truth is to be spoken out upto this time the zemindar and not the educated class basked in the sun-shine of the bureaucracy. It will be admitted on all hands that just now the educated class has been placed in a position of disadvantage as their representation in the Councils go to the land-holding classes [illegible] to their towering pecuniary strength. And

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they make the best use of this representation to defeat the cause of the ryot. But as under the new regulations it has now become quite impossible they are raising a hue and cry to maintain their *this* enviable position. Nobody will deny that the educated Indian does belong to almost all classes of Indian population and that he is the only living monument or legitimate product of the British rule in India, that it is he who has greater acquaintance with the western democratic system of Government and studied it quite closely not for his own selfish interest but for the good of all India. To cite some practical instances, what will you think of Messrs. B. K. Chakravarti, President of the Bengal Land-holders' Association, Padamoraj Jain, a great Marwari merchant millionaire of Calcutta and Mr. Moti Lal Ghose, a most worthy representative of Indian middle classes, composing one unit of the Indians educated to further the common cause and interest of the country. Inasmuch as the educated Indians do not constitute any particular class, but are a group of men who have taken upon themselves the sacred and serious task of bringing a speedy regeneration to anybody and every body in the country, the sarcastic taunt flung at them by the ignorant zemindar by basing his remarks on the foundation of a 'Kisan Sava' and like bodies to represent the peasant view of the Indian political situation and finding fault with the Indian leader of the people because he has now succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the Indian peasant and labouring classes who undoubtedly constitute the masses do indicate nothing but a low selfish desire to safeguard his own interest at the sacrifice of the latter.

Whatever it may be, this fight between the Indian zemindar on one side and the Indian peasant and the educated classes on the other is a sure indication of the down-fall of autocracy and aristocracy together with the bureaucracy in India. The history of Europe of the British Restoration and French Revolution days is repeating itself in India. A fight between the aristrocratic and land-holding classes and the peasant and working classes is just imminent. Also a labour trouble or in other words a spirit of nationalism in the common ignorant masses with increasing political growth and development is more than inevitable. To avoid it we must improve the status of our agricultural labourer and the Indian ryot in general at our earliest convenience. First of all we must spread primary education of a general type broad-cast in the country. Secondly, we must open model agricultural farms and schools for the practical demonstration of the latest improvement in the agricultural science. Thirdly, we must organise an effective agricultural credit, *i. e.*, we must induce the Government to protect the poor peasant from the rapacious Mahajan as none but the Government can do it as the trade balance which will provide the requisite capital and on which the currency system turns, rests in the hands of the Government. The Government should also provide a rural banking system which will lower the price and nullify the evils brougth by the advent of railways and other facilities of inter-communications. The people of India should first put their house in order. England's experience should not be repreated in India. The neglect of agriculture has just rendered the people of England destitute of all comforts of life. If reports are to be believed then to-day poverty is worse in England than it was ever before. People do not find houses to live in, children do not find milk to be fed upon—men and women do not find enough to eat—there is scarcity of food provision. And why? Because England is reaping what she has sown for the last 100 years. In her desire for industrialism she had neglected agriculture—she had tried to produce cotton, wo[illegible]inery, cutlery and

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other things but depended upon the Continent and America for the supply of food products. Australian meat, French horse flesh, American wheat, Dutch eggs and butter—all these helped the British population from saving themselves from starvation so long.

If our readers remember the stress and trouble which we had to feel during the war and have been feeling since then, if our readers are acquainted with metropolitan city life in India, then they will at once concur with us in the belief that but for the improvement of the Indian ryot along with that of the Indian workmen our condition will be like that of England. Let us take the example of the United States of America and make it our own ideal, so far as our commerce, industry and agriculture are concerned. India is a big continent. She is a host in herself and her prosperity lies in the development of her resources—which are not agricultural alone as some ignorant and prejudiced people will have us believe, but commercial and industrial as well. They can be developed on the lines of the United States of America as that well known historian and economist, Prof. Jadunath Sircar, has ably shown in his book, "Economics of British India", holding the above country as the only model before us.

The second thing that should attract our notice is the growth of a sort of capitalist classes in India. It becomes at once a matter of great consolation and congratulation to us when we think that it will bring the Indian capital into practical use. It is all the more rejoicing to think that the use of the Indian capital will greatly check the exploiting capacity of the foreign capital in India. But will it be anything exaggerating to say that only a small fraction of this Indian capital comes from the land-holding classes, who are only a drop in the Indian population but who are just now ready to enter the Indian arena against the labourer and agriculturist to strengthen the hands of the European capalist who is the root of all evil in India? Some of these men belong no doubt to the educated classes. What we say is true to the very letter, will be clear to any one who will take the trouble of going through the advertisement pages of the Indian dailies, weeklies and monthlies, whether of an Indo-English or Anglo-Indian origin. These Indian capitalist classes are thriving in the shape of limited companies. They deal with journalism and are newspaper companies. They deal in tea, coffee, matches, cotton goods and all other commodities which are still being imported into India from Japan, America and England and were before the war being imported from Germany, Austro-Hungary and the Scandinavian Peninsula. It no doubt augurs well for the growth of industrialism in our country, but it is not without its evil and will surely augment the infant labour trouble in the country. It will doubly increase the self-interestedness of the newly created capitalist classes of India. It will very much increase the exploitation of the Indian labour and will produce a new spirit of profiteering in the manufacturing classes. This will give birth to a hitherto unknown sense of inferiority in the Indian labourer. The standard of life will be immeasurably advanced and the simple life of our forefathers will be a thing of the past. Western mill industries with Indian capital, with the factory system and everything else which it involves, will be introduced in the country. A tremendous social and economic revolution will be the outcome. The very face of the Indian society will be altered. India then will be thrown into the throes of a violent class-war of the western type. A sort of State-socialism will grow and if revolutions are to be avoided [illegible] the very fabric and constitution of the Government

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will have to be changed. Practically and in the end all political franchise and privileges will be in the hands of the proletariat. So the best thing for us will be to improve the condition of labour just in keeping with the progress of capital in India and thus to nip the infant labour revolution of our country in its very bud. While dealing with the labour situation in England we shall let our reader know how it is possible for us to effect this.

The third thing to be considered by us in this direction is the condition of labour in England. As the reader knows raw materials are mainly supplied to this country by India and converted into finished products there with the help of British labour. The economic situation in England just now is very critical. We hear there is a great deficit in the Peace Budget of this country. Huge efforts are being made to meet this difficulty by balancing the expenditure of the nation. It is said that some British financiers have suggested the further exploitation of India as a means to the end.

But the labour there in England, as we have noticed above, is now claiming a share in the profits of the capitalist—in the administration of the business. Consequently, the English capitalist classes who are now in a great fix due to the troublous labour situation at home, are on their look out for an opportunity to invest more and more British Capital in India. But it is to be doubted whether like the rest of British capital invested in India, it is again India's money brought back here through the British Capitalist movement in the country. The reader knows, as the Indian Budget of Mr. Hailey shows, that several crores of India's money have been invested in Railways in England by our Government. This is no doubt indirectly strengthening the hands of British capitalism in India at the sacrifice and cost of more vital interest of India. The world knows how awfully backward is India in education and sanitation. The proverbial poverty of India has been borne out by such distinguished members of the Indian Government as Mr. Samuel Edwin Montagu, the present Secretary of State for India and Sir C. Sankaran Nair, formerly the education and sanitation member of the Government and now a member of the Secretary of State's Council. Mr. Montagu has also corroborated the fact that it is this poverty which has enabled the fell diseases of plague, cholera and influenza to carry off tens of millions of Indians every year. Our Government whenever it is approached to spread better education and take practical sanitary measures in the country holds back its help from us on the supposed plea of the paucity of funds. But when we see so many crores of Indian money go to pamper the capitalist classes in England, we cannot but accuse it of apathy to Indian interests. Perhaps our Government wants to have immediate profit, but can there be any greater profit to a Government than to have highly educated, civilised and healthy subjects? Or cannot this money be safely invested to finance some indigenous industries of India?

The labour situation in the rest of the world shows that for the better organisation of labour and for establishing more cordial relations between capital and labour it is quite indispensable that the state should come as a mediator between the two. We think it is high time that our Government should be benefited by its experience and take timely steps to stem back the flow of Bolshevism in India, which a more severe economic situation of the country is likely to create. And a more severe economic situation means a larger inrush of foreign capital into the country and the corresponding shyness of the Indian capital. And this shyness of Indian capital means [illegible] quantities of raw materials from India, (2)]

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pecuniary suicide of the Indian manufacturing and mercantile classes and (3) the growing labour difficulties in the country. And the export of more than necessary quantities of raw materials from India means a sure death of its home industries, especially the Indian cottage industries, which are an essential feature of the trade of India and the full development of which will enable India to take to western system of commercialism without its attendant evils. Thus the decay of the indegenous trade will flood the Indian market with foreign goods as in the case with us just now.

The future trade policy of our Government will be not of free trade, but that of Imperial Preference. So while on one hand limited supplies from the British manufacturing bodies will come to the country, on the other hand the new economic policy and the presence of more and more foreign capital will chill the rising industrial enthusiasm of Young India and a greater dearth of necessaries of life and still higher prices will be the inevitable result. Therefore the labour difficulties in India will be ten times accentuated. The demand of wages will be unnecessarily and unduly large. This will very much affect the rest of Indian population. But while in India this will affect all classes of men in England labour will be ruinously affected. So if we just now join the labour leaders in England, who are doing all that lies in their power to make us have a full-fledged self-government in the near future we shall be killing two birds with a stone. First we shall be saving India from an imminent labour crisis by boy-cotting the foreign capitalist classes in the country and secondly we shall be thus helping the growth of our home industries, especially our cottage ones, in a manner that will enable us to improve the position of both the Indian capital and the Indian labour and that will also maintain a healthy, cordial and amicable spirit between these two bodies—a fact which is still a dream to the peoples in the west. As the reader knows India will not have any voice or hands in her tariff reform and so long as she does not get complete autonomy there is but one way to her present salvation and that is by co-operating with the labour of England to check the ingress of foreign capital in India which will result in the aggravation of the labour situation in the country.

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The Santals of Santal Parganas :—A Study in Ethnology.

By Mr. Phanindra Nath Bose., M. A.

TO study man as he was in the pre-historic ages, we must go to the few aboriginal tribes, who are still living in certain parts of India. One of them is the Santals. They are one of the most ancient tribes on the face of the earth. We Hindus are apt to boast of our time-honoured ancestry, but when we look at this ancient tribe, our pride sinks into insignificance. They belong to the Dravidian group of nations, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian. They are found not only in Santal Parganas but also in Bhagalpur, Western Bengal and Northern Orissa. We shall, however, restrict our observations to the Santals who inhabit Santal Parganas.

The physical features of the Santals may well be described in the words of Sir Herbert Risley :—"In point of physical characteristics the Santals may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion varies from very dark brown to a peculiar, almost charcoal-like, black ; the proportion of the nose approach those of the Negro, the bridge being more depressed in relation to the orbits than is the case with Hindus ; the mouth is large, the lips thick and projecting ; the hair coarse, black and occasionally curly ; the zygomatic arches prominent, while the proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongolian descent."

Proceeding to study their institutions, one is struck with their conservative nature. Although they are living on the face of the earth for centuries, yet most of their institutions remain unaltered even to the present day. True to their national institutions, they have not divulged the name of their family gods (Bongas) to any outsider. Far from mading crowds ignoble strife they keep the even tenor of their life. Contact with other civilisations could not influence their daily routine of life.

Society

Each tribe lives together in one place, but generally does not allow outsiders to come and live in. Their commonest title is "Manjhi" such as :—Bhatta Manjhi, Dheba Manjhi, Sibu Manjhi. In my investigations, I came across none but a Santa.

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Manjhi. When you do not know the name of any Santal, but wish to talk to him, just say "Hallo, Manjhi" and you are sure to get a civil reply. Each settlement has a headman called *Manjhi*, who is chosen by reason of his wealth and influence. He, generally, takes lease of the village from the zemindar (Ghatwal), allots land to the ryots, and collects rent. He holds rent-free land. Besides the headman, there are other officers in every village namely :—

1. Paramanik—*i.e.* Assistant to the headman.
2. Jag-Manjhi—Officer of the headman.
3. Jag—Paramanik—Officer of the Paramanik.
4. Naiki—Village Priest.
5. Kudam Naiki—Priest's Assistant.

Religion.

Animism, in short, may be said to be the religion of the Santals. They worship no gods as Hindus understand them, but only spirits or *bhuts*. The number of these spirits in their mythology is numerous. Asked about the number of their gods any Santal will answer : "O, we have many *Thakurs* !" He is, however, very reluctant to divulge the name of his gods. When I pressed my guide for the name of his gods, he only gave out but few names. They are : Bonga, Manjhi-Horang, Dewan Gosain and others. When I compared these names with those given by Sir H. Risely, I found much difference between the two lists, rather I found my own list incomplete. No Santal, however, would give out the names of his household gods, (Orak-bonga) and secret gods (Abge-bonga), to any one but his eldest son. Mr. Skrefsrud, fortunately, succeeded in getting the names of these important gods from some Christian Santals. The following are Santal household gods :—(1) Baspahar, (2) Deswali, (3) Sas, (4) Goraya, (5) Barpahar, (6) Sarchawdi, (7) Thantatursa. The secret gods are :—(1) Dharasor, (2) Ketkomkudra, (3) Champadenagarh, (4) Garhsinka, (5) Lilachandi, (6) Dhanghara, (7) Kudrachandi, (8) Bahara, (9) Duarseri, (10) Kudraj, (11) Gosain Era, (12) Achali and (13) Deswali.

With the worship of these spirits or *bhuts*, comes the tree-worship.

The favourite seat of these gods is the tall *Sal* tree. As their gods rem[illegible] the *Sal* trees, the trees are worshipped along with th[illegible] ides is met with among the [illegible]

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of Bengal also. The *Bel*, *peepul*, banian are almost daily worshipped by the devout men and women; women often pouring Ganges water at the root. It is, however, difficult to trace how this practice came into the fold of Hinduism.

There is a *Sal* grove in every village set apart for the performance of the pujas and sacrifices. This sacred grove is called *Jahirthan* in Santhali. When I asked my Santal guide to take me to their sacred grove, he signified his consent gladly. We accordingly proceeded towards their village. After traversing many paddy fields and crossing many rivulets, we came to the selected grove. He pointed to me the *Sal* grove. I looked up the heaven to see how high the *Sal* tree rises. The calmness and solitariness of the place touched my heart. The gentle breeze which was blowing then gave me relief after the long walk. I again looked at the *Sal* trees and found marks of vermillion on the trunk As I asked my guide the name of the place, he whispered to me "*Jahirthan*" as if he was afraid to offend his gods by speaking aloud.

Bonga—one of their popular gods, may be described as the god of healing diseases. He is like Aswini Kumar of the Hindu pantheon. When any one is attacked with fever, he prays to this god for the return of good health. On his recovery he brings a goat or a fowl to be offered to his god. The neighbours assemble under the *sal* tree with the village priest, who puts vermillion on the forehead of the prey. As another man cuts asunder the prey, the man who offers the *puja* says :—"My *Thakur*, I am a poor man. Do accept my humble offering and be propitiated."

Another powerful god is Manjhi-Horang. He is also the god of the village. The same offering, under the same *sal* tree might be made to him and other gods as well. Only at the time of the actual puja, mention should be made to whom they are offered.

Divine aid is also sought for good rain, good crop and for winning in litigations.

It is interesting to note how the Santals show tendency of coming into the folds of Hinduism. They describe *Mahadeva* to be their great god. "According to Mr. Skrefsrud traces may be discerned in the back ground of the Santal religion of a *faineant* Supreme Deity called Thakur." I am inclined to identify this *Thakur* with Mahadeva. Sir Herbert R[illegible]owever, holds a

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different view. He says:—"I am myself inclined to doubt whether a god bearing the Hindu name *Thakur*, and exercising the supreme powers which mark a comparatively late stage of theological development, can really have formed part of the original system of the Santals." Whatever name—*Thakur* or *Mahadeva*—may be applied to the Supreme Being of the Santals, it is certain that he did not originally belong to the Santal Mythology, but is a subsequent addition, evidently from the Hindu pantheon. I happened to question a Santal whether he goes to Baidynath Dham to worship the Siva. His answer, strange to say, was in the affirmative. He added: "The priests, however, object and do not allow us to enter when they come to know who we really are. But on making friends with them, we enter the temple and perform the puja." This clearly demonstrates how they are influenced by Hindu ideals.

Festivals.

Their national festival is—Badhna Parab or Sohrai as Sir H. Risely calls it. It is the harvest festival, held in the month of *Posh* (December), generally a few days after the Christmas day. Before the festival begins the Santals busy themselves in manufacturing wine from rice. The Government allow them to brew wine for three days. This is the season of great festivity to them. This is the time when their graceful dance can be seen to its perfection. During this festival they drink the home-made wine to such an extent as to intoxicate themselves. With the martial music, they begin to dance. The village priests offer sacrifices of fowls to the gods in the *Sal* grove, also private offerings are made at the houses. "Chastity is in abeyance for the time."

Marriage.

The regular Santal marriage is called *Bapla*. As in the present Hindu society, the guardians arrange the match, though cases are not rare where the boys and girls marry their beloved. The guardians usually go to see the girl. If they approve of the girl, all preliminaries are finally settled. The bridegroom has to pay the bride-price, which has risen from Rs. 3 to Rs. 15. He has also to give a few *Saris* to the girl, and an oxen to the brother-in-law.

An interesting similarity is revealed in a comparison between the Bengali and Santhali marriage customs. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar once remarked to me that a few of our marriage

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customs known as *"Stree-Achara"* are borrowed from the non-Aryans. Analysing the Bengali marriage ceremony we do find non-Aryan customs engrafted with the purely Vedic institution. The *Sampradan* before the fire is strictly a Vedic practice, but besides it, there are many little curious customs which appear to disturb the harmony of the ceremony. If they are not Vedic institutions, how are we to account for them? They were borrowed from our non-Aryan neighbours. As has already been said, we find a similarity with the Santhali marriage custom. The marriage of the Santals is consumated by the performance of the practice, known as *Sindura dan*. The bridegroom is made to stand on a plank, while the bride is raised up, as she sits on another plank, by her relatives. The bridegroom then puts vermillion on the bride's forehead and on the parting of her hair. The bride in her turn also does the same.

Do we not find almost the same custom amongst the Hindus of Bengal? The Hindu bridegroom is taken to a spacious place, arranged before hand, and the bride is raised up by her relatives, who take the seven holy steps, before the exchange of garlands and good look take place. Only in place of *Sinduradan* we have the practice of *Malyadan*. I leave the readers to draw any conclusion from these two parallels.

After the marriage is over, the bridegroom's party is treated to a good feast, in which wine is liberally used.

Truthfulness.

The Santals are well-known for their truthfulness In their language we meet with many proverbs which inculcate the practice of speaking the truth. Thus a Santhali would teach his son :—

"Dharam Dharam Radme, Bankhal Dokul Jomme."

i. e. speak the truth or you will be devoured by the tiger.

Another proverb runs thus:—

"Sanam Sanam Dharam Radme"

i. e. Always speak the truth.

A third proverb says:—

"Bang bidharamgi gal maraokana"

i. e, Never tell a lie.

Language.

The language of the Santals belongs to the non-Aryan group of family. It is a language without any literature to call its own. It is still in the state of [illegible]ment and has not or rather will never attain ma[illegible]

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example of the process of development of languages in general. Like other tribes, the Santals learned to express their thoughts and ideas in words. Though they found a vehicle of their thought, it was not fettered by any law of grammar, as grammar comes late in the evolution of a language. Unfortunately, in the process of evolution, the Santhali language received an unfavourable check, which prevented it from being developed into perfection.

Another peculiarity of this language is that it has no script. While the Tamil, Telegu and other non-Aryan languages of India possess their own script, Santhali has none. The Santals never felt the necessity of recording their thoughts and sentiments. So a beginner in Santali is not troubled with a new script, before he can make any headway in the language.

Although the Santals have no regular literature, yet a few songs have been handed down from father to son. Some intelligent men, probably, arose among them, who composed a few songs. As the Santals have no script, they could not record these songs. Thus a good many songs have been lost to the world. Here is a specimen of their song:—

"Kati Kati Simsukāri chāgad chāgad peda

Utu iya Amdo iya chal baba hatiya."

Dancing.

Dancing is one of the favourite pastimes of the Santals. It is accompanied with their peculiar music (siring). The following story is told about the origin of dancing among them. "In the beginning the Santals worshipped no deities, and did not know the use of musical instruments and could not dance. Two of their number, one belonging to the Tudu sect and the other to the Besra, set out on an exploring expedition and penetrated deeply into the heart of the great forest. Towards evening, they heard the sound of music and not knowing what it was they went to see from whence it proceeded. On nearing the place they became afraid, and in order to see over the brush wood they climbed up a tree and beheld *Moreko, Jaher-era, Marang Buru* and *Gosae-era* dancing. Suddenly one of the dancers stood still and said: "There are human beings near, I smell them." Jaher-era said "Whether you smell men or beasts, do them no harm, but bring them here." The two adventurers danced with the *bongas* all night, learning both to play and dance. In the morning they were given two drums and dismissed with the following injunction: "Go and tell your people all about us. Tell them to venerate and respect us and annually to offer sacrifices to us. You must also instruct them to play music and to dance, and we order you to teach the people of twelve villages every night." This, it is said, they accomplished, and in this manner the Santals learned the use of musical instruments and the art of dancing."*

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* A. Campbell in *Calcutta Review* 1917.

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Direct Electorate for the Indian Legislative Assembly.

By Mr. SRINATH DUTT.

THE Southborough Franchise Committee recorded in paragraph 34 of their report "we have thus found ourselves driven to the only remaining alternative, namely *indirect* election for all general and communal seats of the Indian Legislative Assembly by the *members of the Provincial* Legislative Councils." The Government of Bombay wrote that the present system of election to the Indian Assembly by the members of the Provincial Councils was a "system of pocket boroughs, which should be done away with." Those who remember the wail and agony of the *Bengalee*, when Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, who considered the Bengal Council to be his pocket borough, had been defeated by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, will fully endorse the opinion of the Bombay Government. The Franchise Committee proposed that 57 members raised to 80 members or four-fifth of the elected members now were to be elected by 601 persons, that is to say 1 member by 7½ persons in average. Matters will thus become doubly worse. The Government of India in their memorandum on the constitution of the Indian Assembly, annexed to their fifth despatch of 23rd April last, said "if it becomes necessary to have recourse to indirect election, there should be a material difference of method between the indirect elections to the Indian Assembly and to the Council State."

A ray of light came from the Government of Bengal, who, being of the same opinion as the Government of Bombay about the present system of election to the Indian Assembly "being a system of pocket boroughs and deserving to be ended or mended at once" pointed out "an alternative means of framing the electorate for the general and Muhammadan communities by making constituencies out of the members of the District Boards, Local Boards, Union Committees and Municipalities. An electorate reformed would contain between 2,000 and 3,000 persons *at once*. This number will be considerably increased, when the village Union Boards are substituted for Union Committees on a large scale under the Village Self-Government Act." There will be over 2,100 Village Boards for 43 millions of the rural population and the number of members thereof cannot be less than 19,000.

Out of 100 elected seats of the Indian Legislative Assembly, it has been proposed to allot 17 seats to Bengal, namely 6 seats to the general community, 6 to Muslim community, 4 to English and Indian merchants and 1 to the Calcutta University. Of the 12 seats allotted to general and Muslim communities one should be spared for the

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sity to be elected by its fellows and the professors of colleges affiliated to it, and another to the "urban" municipalities (separated from rural municipalities) to be elected by their Hindu and Muslim rate-payers jointly. There will then remain 10 seats for the rural areas including small municipalities, to which the alternative method of indirect election proposed by Bengal Government, may be applied. We shall have 18,000 to 20,000 members of the Village Union Boards and rural Municipalities to elect 10 representatives of the five Divisions. There will be then about 1,800 to 2,000 persons forming an average constituency instead of 7½ persons proposed by the Southborough Committee and condemned by the Provincial Governments, Government of India and Parliamentary Committee—by all in fact except the few persons who manage now and expect in future to get easily elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly through these "pocket boroughs."

Now, the suggestion of the Government of Bengal meets the standard fixed by the Government of India, namely, the method of indirect election for the Indian Assembly should be materially indifferent from that for the Council of State. Objections to the alternative scheme of the Bengal Government are:—

(i) *The process of village Union Boards being substituted for the Union Committees under the Village Self-Government Act would take some time to carry out.*—We may not have village Union Boards substituted for all the Union Committees before November next, but by November of 1923 the process will be complete. For the first election we may have members of the District Boards, Municipalities and Local Boards to elect a Hindu and a Muslim representative one for each Division. If there be 2,000 to 3,000 persons—the picked men of the rural areas—we shall have in average 200 to 300 persons to form an electorate scattered over the whole Division. These will be all known men; and the electoral rolls for the whole presidency can be framed in half a week. They are competent to attend the polling stations either at the Divisional head-quarters or District head-quarters. They have hitherto faithfully discharged their duty of electing members to the Provincial Council, and there is no reason to think that the members of Municipalities and District Boards, when joined together, will fail badly to elect members—one for each Division again—to the Indian Assembly. This will be only for the first election; for by the second election the members of the Village Union Boards, numbering about 18,000 to 19,000, will be ready to take up the work in association with the members of rural Municipalities. These 2,000 or 3,000 members of the District Boards, rural Municipalities and Local Boards will, even now, represent the feelings, opinions and prejudices of the "general" and "Mussalman" community better than the 103 members of the Provincial Council suggested by the Southborough Committee.

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(ii) *Electorates would be scattered.*—This objection is not clear. When a member will be elected for an entire Division, his electors or constituents must be drawn from 15 or 16 sub-divisions which make up a Division. The constituents must be such persons who can be easily identified, who may travel at their own expense to Divisional and District head-quarters to listen to the addresses of the candidates and elected members and to record votes, who have some experience of conducting affairs and who are above ordinary temptation. Is it possible to find out another class of men like the members of Village Union Boards and rural Municipalities who will satisfy these conditions better ?

(iii) *The electorates would not be homogeneous.*—The Franchise Committee of Lord Southborough have rightly separated the Urban Municipalities from the rural Municipalities which are hardly distinguishable from the large villages of Bengal. Of the sort of men that live in rural Municipalities and under Village Union Boards or Union Committees, it cannot be honestly asserted that there is any want of homogeneity. There is no difference in the character, interest, learning or ignorance of the people of one sub-division or police station and that of another, that lie in the same Division. What is the difference between the people of Cutwa and Contai in Burdwan Division, or between those of Netrakona and Patnakhali in Dacca Division, or between Palena and Naogaon in Rajshahi Division ?

(iv) *The electorate would not be larger.*—The size of an average electorate for general and Mussalman community is proposed to be 7,000 in Madras, 9,000 in Bombay, 16,000 in Bengal, 18,000 in the United Provinces, 5,000 in the Punjab, 9,000 in Behar, 3,000 in Central Provinces and 10,000 in Assam for the Provincial Councils. It is admitted that the electorates of the Indian Legislative Assembly will be much smaller than the electorates of the Provincial Councils.

Now if the size of an electorate for the provincial Council be, say, 10,000, I venture to submit that the size of an electorate for the Indian Legislative Assembly should not exceed 1,500 or 2,000. If 10 representatives of the general and Muslim communities are elected by 2,000 to 3,000 members of District and Local Boards and rural Municipalities at the *first* election, we shall have at once 200 to 300 members for each member. But from the *second* election, as pointed out before, we shall have an average constituency of 2,000 intelligent persons in average for each of the ten seats to represent 43 millions of the rural people that live in the five Divisions of Bengal. A constituency of 2,000 persons cannot be called a small one specially when the Legislature is so august as that of the Indian Assembly for all British India.

(v) *The election would be still indirect.*—I do not think this objection to be fair. The electors suggested by the Bengal Government live,

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move and have their being with the people, they share in their daily pleasures and sorrows of the village people. Every echo of weal and woe reaches their ears. They cannot leave the people in ill-health and insanitation without themselves sharing the evil thereof. All this cannot be said of the members of the Provincial Councils who live all their time in Calcutta and never visit their constituencies between one election and another. So the evil of indirect election is entirely absent, when the members of the Village Union Boards and rural Municipalities of a Division take the place of eight or nine millions of people that live within it, and elect two representatives to the Indian Assembly.

The present method of indirect election to the Indian Legislative Assembly by the members of the Provincial Councils—whose evils will become still more intensified, if the recommendations of the Southborough Committee reducing the average number of constituents for a member, be accepted—is widely different from the method of indirect election by the members of Village Union Boards and rural Municipalities, suggested by the Government of Bengal. In the absence of any better scheme, diarchy held the field, said Mr. Montagu. In the absence of any method of direct election for the Indian Assembly, the method of indirect election, proposed by the Bengal Government, I say, holds the field.

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THE

Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically, or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism, As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever be enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

Whitman as Prophet.

By Dr. A. COOMARASWAMY, D. S. C.

'I say that the real and permanent grandeur of these States must be their religion.'

'IN the midst of death we are in life.' This converse of a well-known saying is especially applicable to the modern west. For, coincident with the breakdown of modern civilization—the inevitable death of those who build for themselves bigger and yet bigger barns— there is to be recognized the rebirth of a creative religious consciousness adequate to the determination of a future social order. Perhaps for the first time in history, the initial intimations of such a movement are to be recognized as truly western in their origins: the East, which has already known and experienced everything, has for the West the importance that attaches to things that are rediscovered, rather than of that of the source of inspiration. Europe—and it must be understood that in such a generalization as this, America is part of Europe, since her culture is in no way independent—has for the first time achieved her own mystic experience: she is no longer, as in the cycle of Christianity, a proselyte, but follows an adventure of her own.

The first and perhaps the greatest of her adventurers was Blake, born out of due time as he was, and still far in advance of European vision and European sociology. Blake, li[illegible]strove not with

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the world: the secondary task of wrenching apart the fingers of the dead hand of authority—ecclesiastical, cultural and social—was the part of Nietzsche, who bore the brunt of a battle that is yet being fought by countless conscientious objectors to still rampant superstitions. ('To discover a new art,' as Marcel Schwob, reminds us, 'the former art must be broken to pieces'). The third of a great triad is Walt Whitman, who, if we speak of Blake as a great visionary, taught the practice that proceeds from faith. Blake and Whitman alike were saints: but of different types. It was not for Blake to do good works in the common sense—it was enough that he *was*, and became what he was. As Nietzsche exclaims, there is no better cure for the sick than the sight of one who maketh himself whole. Blake indeed had a piercing consciousness of the contrast between the social order in which he lived, and such an order as love might create: he saw the chartered streets, 'the commerce that settles on every tree' and the hapless soldiers' sighs that run in blood down palace walls and down the avenues of the financiers. Whitman himself was a prophet of reform, rather than a reformer. He had no kinship with those worst of tyrants, the altruists, who go about seeking whom they may do good to, and thereby destroy; but less than Blake, unlike the common man, the burden of his prophecy remains more definitely ethical. Blake is like Mary, Whitman more like Martha: both were saints, and in both, their saintliness proceeded from an immediate perception of the unity or kinship of all life.

> For me the keepers of convicts shoulder their carbines and keep watch.
>
> It is I let out in the morning and barred at night.....

It is, however, as mystic that I wish to speak of Whitman more particularly: and if some would insist that his social message ought rather to be emphasized in speaking of one who 'beat the gong of revolt,' and stopped with them that plot and conspire, let us remind ourselves that without a certain intuition of the unity of life, all virtue must be sacrificed to mere morality, and liberty and mutual forgiveness are forever denied.

There is no canker closer to the heart of modern society than is revealed in its treatment of love. The modern man does not believe in love: and therefore for him there is no distinction between ecstasy and lust. The psycho-analyst does but reveal what poets have always known, that the clean outside of the cup and platter may only too often conceal an inward ravening. But Whitman gives an example to lovers and he is able to do so, because he has seen that the soul is not more than the body, nor the body than the soul, and nothing is greater to one than one's self: therefore, he knows that the ritual of mutual caresses is no less holy than the service of an office, and that for every spiritual perception there must be the appropriate and inevitable physical gesture,

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for 'objects gross and the unseen soul are one' and 'the unseen is proved by the seen'. In this way he reminds us that a denial of the physical gesture amounts to a denial of the spiritual experience; that the Puritan, in other words, is by confession a materialist. Such modern art as seeks to achieve abstraction by the omission of all content is as good an evidence and illustration of this as Mr. Comstock himself.

Whitman is in immediate contact with life in his consciousness of every moment as an end in itself: now is the appointed time, because the only real time 'there will never be any more perfection than there is now.' Were we perfect as our Father in Heaven is perfect we also should see that his handiwork is good—the poet sees it, and therefore he is the poet alike of good and evil:

'I am not the poet of goodness only, I do not decline to be the poet of wickedness also. What bruit is this about virtue and vice?.....

I accept Reality and dare not question it.'

This is his 'faith that never balks.'

Not only is the present moment, but every life an end in itself. The Western world has sought to achieve the conquest of nature, to bend her forces to the ends of profit. If much has been achieved in this direction, no less has been lost: for the multiplication of convenience does not by itself intensify the content of life, and is merely a means and not an end. Is not the Oriental nearer to the ends of life, when he is more concerned to realize a harmony with nature than a conquest of nature? I do not say the two extremes may never meet, but that they have not yet. When Whitman exclaims

I believe in those winged purposes.....

And do not call the tortoise unworthy because she is not somebody else,

it is possible for an Oriental to believe that Western civilization may ultimately from the resources of its own vitality correct its own one-sidedness. The anthropocentric view is not forever, and man may yet be able to discover a true home where once he recognized the merely temporal habitation of a pilgrim destined for a future impossible heaven or equally impossible hell. There will never be any more heaven or hell than now; for every plane of expression is everywhere accessible.

Whitman is well aware that 'all things are dear to us for the sake of the Self,' as the Upanishads express it:

'No one can grow for another—not one.
The song is to the singer, and comes back most to him...
The love is to the lover and comes back most to him.'

And therefore, since 'outside authority enters always after the precedence of inside authority,' man should be lamps unto themselves. He sees all things in himself, and himself in all (and [illegible] wonder everyone

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sees in everyone else he sees') ; and therefore whomever he speaks to claims him. He describes the Answerer as Chuang-tzu describes the Perfect Man—'His welcome is universal.....the person he favours by day or sleeps with at night is blessed': or as Krishna is described in the Prema Sagara, where each man takes him to be of his own kind, and is not in error. When he says 'will you seek afar? you surely come back at last,' he is like Kabir, who says 'stay where you are, and all things shall come to you in time': or as Lao-tzü puts it 'The further you travel, the less you may know.' Whitman teaches the 'profound lesson of reception, nor preference nor denial,' which in India is called 'same-sightedness.' He knows that all interests are identical, and 'every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you:' and that there is infinity in every grain of sand, for 'all things of the Universe are perfect miracles, each as profound as any.' This doctrine of self-government or individual autonomy—'Be ye lamps unto yourselves,' or 'Become what thou art'—is one for higher men, and seems inconsistent with Whitman's glorification of the average. In fact, however, Whitman's 'Democracy' has nothing to do with the mob: it is the 'common life' of all that lives : of the individual he constantly demands the aristocratic virtue of a Superman.

We have said enough to remind the reader that Whitman is before all else a mystic and a prophet, and to demonstrate his spiritual alliances. Just as directly as from the Upanishads, a system of monistic philosophy might be deduced from the poetry of Whitman; equally easily, the outlines of a social order and a system of morality. But living ideas are injured or destroyed—as the teachings of Jesus have been destroyed by Christianity—when they are made the basis of a cult. Whitman is a witness, not a reformer: he offers nothing as a dogma, teaches nothing as a duty: he knows that there are no proofs of reality but in immediate perception, and will not substitute commandment for a living impulse. A cult of Whitman might become as vain as a cult of Nietzsche or as degenerate as mediaeval Taoism.

'I charge you forever reject those who would expound me, for I cannot expound myself.

I charge that there be no theory or school founded out of me.

I charge you to leave all free, as I have left all free.'

For Whitman the meaning and purpose of life is to be found in freedom—self-determination of the individual—'nothing is good to me now that ignores individuals': for 'the whole theory of the universe is directed unerringly to one single individual—namely to You.' It is precisely upon this ground that East and West may meet, and in Whitman do meet. 'A vast similitude interlocks all.....And shall forever span them and compactly hold and enclose them.'

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

An English History of India *

By Professor BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

IT is difficult within the compass of a brief review to do justice to the numerous merits of Mr. Vincent A. Smith's latest book on India. It is a deeply learned work of more than 530,000 words, relating the history of a sub-continent from prehistoric times to the end of 1911. A great portion of it is a summary of the author's four previous books on India, *Asoka*, *The Early History of India*, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* and *Akbar the Great Mogul*, each of which was the result of first-hand investigation conducted through a whole generation.

In the *Oxford History of India* the reader must not expect, however, to find the simplicity and unity that characterize the dynastic histories of China and Japan. The picture is as bewilderingly varied and diversified as that of Europe from the wars of the *Iliad* to the war against Germany. It is true, as the book before us reveals, that on various occasions *pax sarvabhaumica* (peace of the world-empire), the Indian analogue of *pax Romana*, was achieved within the boundaries of India. In fact, only once did Europe witness the formation of a unitary state with the size and area (page 105) of the Maurya Empire (B. C. 322—185). This was the Roman Empire at its zenith, during the second and third centuries A. D. Neither the heterogeneous European possessions of Charles V nor the ephemeral conquests of Napoleon acquired the dimensions of the Tughlak Empire of the fourteenth century (page 242) or of the Moghul Empire of the seventeenth (pages 365,443) or of the Maratha Empire of the eighteenth (pages 460, 461). In terms of population and area, even the less extensive Goopta Empire of the fifth century (page 150), the Vardhana Empire of the seventh (page 166) and the Chola Empire of the eleventh (pages 211—212) were barely approached by the Empire of Charlemagne. Still it must be admitted, though not with the strictures passed by the author in his *Early History of India* (edition of 1914, pages 356-357), that the political unity of India even in British times is as great

* *The Oxford History of India.* By Vincent A. Smith. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919.—xxiv, 816 pp. (Reprinted from the *Political Science Quarterly* at the request of the writer.)

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a myth as the political unity of Europe. It is a veritable "pluralistic universe" that the student has to contemplate at the threshold of Indian history in spite of the fundamental uniformity of the people's cultural "ideals". In trudging through Mr. Smith's jungle of facts, one needs, therefore, the patience and discrimination that are necessary for mastering the kaleidoscopic changes set forth in Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe*. The Indian continent exhibits the same development as the western half of Eur-Asia. It furnishes but another illustration of the universal sway of the Hobbesian "state of nature", the *matsya-nyaya* (or "logic of the fish"), as Hindu political philosophy calls it. The worst that can be said about the conflicting nationalities of India is not worse than the description which Depping gives in his *Histoire du commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe* (vol. ii, pages 207-214) of the relations between the Christians of Greece, Italy and Spain in the face of the Ottoman invasions. And this statement of a medieval anti-monarchist, cited in Engelbert's *De Ortu et Fine Romani Imperii*, should give pause to an occidental student inclined to view the political mentality of the old Orient as something essentially distinctive: "The Roman Empire was and is always troubled by wars and rebellions; hardly ever were the gates of the temple of Janus shut; the greater number of Roman emperors have died violent deaths; and the Roman Empire has been the cause rather of disorder than of peace."

The sense of historical perspective is as a rule lacking in Mr. Smith's writings. In the present volume he has been led, in spite of himself (page xxiii), to interpret his entire story with an eye to the "event of 1757", as if the three or four thousand years of Hindu political life and Indo-Saracenic evolution were merely preliminary to Plassey! In this book (pages 67,74,332), as in the *Early History of India* (pages 112, 113, 119, 199), the author cannot think of Alexander's failure in India and the expulsion by the Hindus of Seleukos (B. C. 303) and Menander (B. C. 153) without a sigh, which, though subdued, is yet audible. Not until he reaches the capture of Goa by Albouquerque in 1510 does he seem to experience genuine relief. Let the occidental with a sense of humour imagine the naive sentiments of an oriental historian, who, disappointed by the failure of the Persians at Marathon and Salamis and apprehensive for the prospects of a gr[illegible] Asia, should hold his breath until Islam

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begins to flourish on European soil, until south-eastern Europe is Mongolised to the Carpathian Mountains and the Turks are at the gates of Vienna. Mr. Smith's point of view is, however, one that naturally pervades the psychology of every European and American student of oriental culture and politics, sicklied o'er, as it is, with the dogma of the "superior race."

But there is another prejudice in the *Oxford History*, that is born of the political propaganda on behalf of the vested interests and the powers-that-be, to which Mr. Smith's scholarship happens to be harnessed. The volume is to be memorized as a text-book by the undergraduates of British-Indian colleges, and the facts, therefore, have to be so manipulated that even he who runs may be convinced of the logic of the "white man's burden", and more specifically, of the righteousness of British imperialism in India. The author's treatment of the Mogul monarchy (pages, 416-418) is an eminent execution in Rembrandtesque style, calculated to serve as a dismal background for the silver lining that occasionally sets off what Indian nationalists call the permanent cloud of the British régime. The sweeping estimate of Shivaji the Great and the Marathas as shameless robbers, ruffians, tyrants, *etc.*, (pages 436, 637) is a disgrace to British militarism, which should be able, now that a century has rolled away, to be generous to the most formidable enemy it ever encountered in the East. Altogether, in this volume, intended to be a handbook of loyalty, the reader will find the philosophy of Indian history summed up thus: The Hindus are caste-ridden and therefore inefficient as a fighting force; and the Mohammedans are at their best mere fanatics and normally the most unspeakable pests of humanity. This is the two-fold message of the book to western scholars. The author's chivalrous appreciation of almost all the female rulers of India, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, such as Raziya, Durgavati, Chand Bibi, Ahalya Bai, must not, however, be ignored (pages 226, 347, 363, 577).

There are certain other defects, which are to be attributed to the author's conception of sociology, historiography and comparative politics. He is evidently inclined to read much of the liberties and institutions of the nineteenth century into the *Weltanschauung* of Periclean Athens, Imperial Rome and Catholic and feudal Europe. And so far as the Oriental is concerned, his viewpoint does not seem to have advanced be[illegible] the generaliz-

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ations of Buckle, Hegel, Maine and Max Müller, in spite of his own monumental discoveries in Indian archaeology and epigraphy (pages xi, xii ; *Akbar*, page 385 ; *Early History*, pages 857, 477).

One would expect to learn from a general history dealing with all ages what influence the people of India have exerted on the civilization of mankind. But the author does not even hint at the possible or actual contact of India with Babylonian and Pharonic cultures. Chinese intercourse with the Hindus is, indeed, alluded to, but we do not learn that India gave China and Japan not only religion and mythology but dramaturgy, folklore, painting, logic, algebra and alchemy as well. Students of Chinese culture are well aware that the neo-Confucianism of the Sung period (960—1278), which furnishes even today the spiritual food of China's masses, was a direct product of the *Vikramadityan* renaissance which Fa Hien, Hiuen Thsang, Itsing and other Max Müllers of medieval China had imported from India into their native land. The influence of Hindu mathematics, medicine and chemistry on the Saracen capitals at Bagdad, Cairo and Cordova, and through them on the universities of medieval Europe, is a legitimate theme for the historian of India, but no aspect of the expansion of India finds a place in Mr. Smith's narrative. He does, indeed, say that the influence of New India on "Europe and the United States of America is no longer negligible" (page 737), but the impact of Indian thought on the modern world, which is made manifest in such publications as Victor Cousin's *Histoire de le philosophie* and exhibited in the influence of Kalidasa on Goethe and the early romanticists and of the *Geeta* on the transcendental movement in European-American poetry and fine arts deserves the special attention of the historian. Unfortunately, even the effects of the "discovery" of Sanskrit literature on the "comparative sciences" remain unnoticed in this comprehensive treatise. Nobody will charge the author with extreme phil-Hellenism, but he is still too greatly obsessed by the idea of "Greek influence on India" to estimate properly the reverse current, except possibly in the case of Gnosticism and neo-Platonism (pages 67, 134, 138-143, 160, 162-163; *Early History*, pp. 237-241, 306-307). The authorities cited in the *Oxford History*, *Akbar* and the *Early History* are so many and up-to-date, that one notes with regret that the significance of Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* (1915) and Mookerjee's

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History of Indian Shipping (1910) in re-estimating the influence of Indian culture has been overlooked by Mr. Smith.

Altogether, the weaknesses of the author's methodology as a historian, *i.e.*, an "interpreter" of facts—this does not apply to his work as an archaeologist or antiquarian—would be felt by anybody familiar with the work of western historians who have written on any period of occidental civilization, *e.g.*, Bury's *History of Greece* or Mahaffy's *Greek Life and Thought* or Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*. It is not too much to say that an Indian scholar employing the same data used by Mr. Smith would produce a wholly different story, chapter by chapter.

The least satisfying section of the book is that dealing with the Sultans of Delhi (1200—1526). The author has exhausted the dictionary of abuse in vilifying the early Mohammedan rulers, who, as he has rightly pointed out, should not be called Pathan or Afghan, since they were all, with the exception of one House, Turks of various denominations. Students of medieval civilization know that the crusading zeal of Islam was felt to their sorrow by the Christian powers of Europe not less than by the people of India, and that for centuries the Mediterranean Sea was no less a Saracen lake than was the so-called Arabian Sea. The fact that they were conquered by Moslems is not more disgraceful to Hindus as a race than to Europeans. If Mr. Smith expects to foster Hindu hostility to the Moslem by raking up stories of religious persecution and wanton slaughter, he will be disappointed, for the oriental student can easily cite plenty of instances of inquisition, torture and pogroms in the annals of Christendom. The one effect that books iv and v of the *Oxford History* are sure to have on the mind of Young India is to increase the general unrest which the British are trying to allay by a thousand and one means. If there is one Mohammedan youth still left in India who is not anti-British at heart, Mr. Smith's volume is well suited to range him on the side of militant Indian nationalism. Nobody in the Mohammedan world, from Canton to Morocco, is prepared to swallow the characterization of the pioneers of Indian Islam, page after page, as worse than "ferocious beasts". In the name of "truth" our historian has dipped his pen in vitriol.

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Notwithstanding his [illegible] general tendency to account all "oriental" achievement[illegible]h, the author is

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on the whole sympathetic in his treatment of the Hindu period (see *e.g.*, *Early History*, pages 127, 298, 344). He is, in fact, its first and only historian and may even be accused by critics of partiality for the subject of his discoveries. And yet it is only fair to add that in his discussion of the political institutions of the Hindus he has scarcely done them justice (pages xi, xii). It is not necessary to wax enthusiastic, as Havell has done in his recent *History of Aryan Rule in India* or Banerjea in his *Public Administration in Ancient India*, over the so-called "village communities" or to accept at its face value every statement in the Sanskrit text-books that points towards a democratic polity. No one with a sense of humour would suggest that the British constitution was anticipated in the *mantri-parishat* (cabinet) of the Maurya monarchy or in the "five great assemblies" of the south Indian states, described in Pillai's *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*. But on the strength of authentic inscriptions, like those of Ooshavadata at Nasik, of Roodradamana in Gujrat, of the Chola Emperors and the Ceylonese dynasties as well as the Maurya *Artha-shastra* and edicts (see *Asoka*, chapters iv, v) and the reports of Megasthenes and Roman writers on Alexander, it is possible to claim that there is no European institution of any importance from Diocletian to Frederick the Great of which a counterpart is not to be found in India from B. C. 322 to A. D. 1300. The *Vehmgericlte* of the Teutons and Henry II's Assizes are anticipated in the *Oobbahika* of the Buddhist *Choollavagga* and the jury of Kautilyan land legislation. The finances of the state were not more centralized under Louis XIV than under Rajaraja the Great. It is high time to recognize the fact, as would be evident to persons utilizing the author's footnotes (pages xii, 68), that the Greek city republics which fell before the onslaughts of Macedonian gold and arms were not more "democratic" than the *ganas* or republics that opposed Alexander in the Punjab or the commonwealths in Bihar, the president of one of which was the father of Shakya, the Buddha. Another fact that should also be known to every student of comparative politics is that neither in the theory of Hindu political philosophy nor in actual practice did the caste system affect the public services of India, civil or military, prior to the end of the thirteenth century.

The *Oxford History* is professedly a story of ruling houses and dynastic co[illegible] it is not exclusively a political and

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military history. There are occasional glimpses into economic conditions though these are designed mainly to throw light on the alleged misery and poverty of the people in pre-British times; every instance of famine, misrule and oppressive taxation under native rulers has been carefully noted. (By the bye, the author treats land revenue in Hindu and Mohammedan India as crown-rent without documentary evidence; Hopkins' analysis of land tenure in *India Old and New* is more accurate.) Standard books on the history of Sanskrit literature have been summarized to add to the readableness of the narrative. The references to early Tamil, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Urdu literature are also interesting and useful. And, since Mr. Smith has to his credit a *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, which will remain a supplementary classic to Fergusson's older work, the reader of the *Oxford History* will find more than scrappy descriptions of the arts and crafts, especially the architectural monuments, distributed throughout its chapters. But as the author has neither the enthusiasm of a Guizot nor the scholarly eloquence of a John Richard Green for the theme of his investigations, his style seldom rises above that of the gazetteer-writer.

Western scholars have often complained of the lack of a general history of India, even for the British period, especially one covering the recent era since the advent of the "industrial revolution" in Europe and America. The older authorities, like James Mill and Meadows Taylor, useful as far as they go, do not come near the present; and apart from the disconnected stories that can be pieced together from the volumes in the *Rulers of India Series* and the annual reports and gazetteers published by the Government of India, no student of modern civilization has been able to familiarize himself with the history of the Indian people under British rule during a period that has seen an Asian race emerge as a first-class power and challenge the domination of the East by the West The last part of the present volume undertakes to supply this need. But the narrative unfortunately ceases to be the history of India and becomes instead the history of European rivalries and the survival of the fittest in the land of Hindus and Mohammedans. The western student, however, will be disappointed with the author's treatment, for he will not find here the philosophic view of England's expansion in India as a by-product of the main epoch of world politics between 1688 and 1815 (including Great [illegible] failure in the

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American colonies) which Seeley's lectures have made a matter of common knowledge for all modern history. The importance of India in its relation to British imperialism and the *status quo* in Asia, with which readers of Curzon's volumes on the Middle East and the Far East are familiar, has not left its stamp on the pages of the *Oxford History*. And, of course, the conditions since the Crimean War that eventually led to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Anglo-French *Entente* and the Anglo-Russian Convention, with their momentous consequences for India, have not been analyzed by the author. The Egyptian and South African campaigns have been ignored, the Persian Gulf, Tibet and China touched upon only incidentally. To all intents and purposes, British India has been presented by the historian in a state of "splendid isolation". Even from the standpoint of the ruling race, the jewel of the Imperial crown is thus left an unintelligible phenomenon.

Under such circumstances it is too much to expect that the author should have watched the development of those intellectual and moral forces among the people of the country that make Young India a political "problem" of the British Empire as well as a sociological "study" in ethnic rejuvenation. The volume does not mention the activities of the National Congress and the Moslem League, two associations of Indian politicians eminently loyalist in their vision, not to speak of the "ideas of 1905", that body of philosophical radicalism which inaugurated a new era in the history of India that cannot be interpreted by any of the shibboleths of the preceding half-century. In fact, all that makes modern history worth reading, whether as an embodiment of the triumph of positivism and humanism or from the narrower angle of the expansion of Europe and America and the distinctive glory of *pax Britannica*, is virtually ignored. An American student who wishes to understand how much of modernism, *i.e.*, the spirit of science and democracy, has pervaded the life and thought of three hundred and fifteen million souls will find in Mr. Smith's history only a chronological summary of the wars (*minus* the intrigues) that governor after governor has embarked upon in quest of territorial aggrandizement and the principal statutes by which the administration of the country has been organized. He will learn nothing of the parliamentary legislation by which during two generations the indigenous industries of India were strangled

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in order to convert the dependency into a monopoly market for British manufactures and a helpless land of raw materials.

Mr. Smith has not forgotten, however, to discuss the comparative merits of Hastings, Wellesley, Dalhousie and Curzon nor to justify the conduct of every British exponent of *Machtpolitik*. Such phrases as "grave necessities of the situation", "urgent necessities of the time", a time when "everything was at stake", considerations of "high politics", "the agonies of millions of helpless peasants" (pages 538, 539, 581, 608) are invoked to whitewash or even defend all the "forward" policies of annexationists. Wellesley's "Foreign Office point of view," which expressed itself in the dictum that the "extension of direct British rule was an unquestionable benefit to any region annexed", is a first postulate with the author (pages 588, 604). No language, therefore, is stern enough, in his estimation, to condemn the occasional "pusillanimous policy of non-interference" (pages 581, 608).

Mr. Smith finds fault with Elphinstone for relying too much on the exaggerated reports of the Moslem chroniclers in regard to the events of medieval India (page 223). But he is guilty of a similar error not only in his acceptance of Persian and European material, whenever it suits his purpose to prove his thesis of the innate baseness of the Mohammedans (page 237), but also in his endorsement of every Tom, Dick and Harry who had anything to do with the East India Company's affairs as "a gentleman well qualified for governing", "noble", "polished" *etc.* (pages 339, 340, 383).

While the efforts of the native rulers, the "country powers", to establish suzerainty and *pax sarva-bhaumica* are reckoned as nothing better than levying blackmail (page 469), every instance of British intrigue with "forgotten potentates" is a "deed of heroism" (page 471). Haidar Ali in the south and Ranjit Singh in the north are "fierce adventurers," Baji Rao II in the Deccan "a perjured vicious coward" (pages 544, 631). The author does not categorically uphold Clive's forgery and exactions (pages 402, 494), but, on the other hand, he seeks to explain away too easily the British failings of those "rough days" as inevitable because of the *milieu* of universal corruption among the Indians. The young men of India are invited to be loyal to the author's race by reading in his book that every Hindu and Mohammedan from 1757 to 1857 was an abominable w[illegible] "scoundrel" and

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a "rascal" (pages 487—489, 497, 498, 406, 538—540, 545, 597, 687). In these intemperate expressions the writer has, however, only pandered to the false doctrine that in politics he who fails is an unscrupulous knave and he who succeeds a daring genius. He has therefore failed to see in the so-called Sepoy War of 1857, though abortive, and in the unrest since 1905, howsoever futile in the opinion of the military world, an expression of that most elemental feeling, the love of national independence, which surges even in oriental breasts. Not the least noticeable feature of the book is the fact that the author has not considered it worth while to mention a single great man of India since 1818. Does he wish the world to understand that *pax Britannica* breeds only Royal Bengals—or rather mere tame cats? There could be no worse impeachment of British rule.

Unbiased scholars in France, Germany, Japan, America and even in Great Britain cannot but feel that Mr. Smith has tried too palpably to create the impression that the British Empire in India is the only empire in the world's history which is not stained with the blood of innocents. The scientific poise of the *Oxford History* would have been obvious to critics if the author had only attempted to indicate that the process of imperial annexation could not have been "roses, roses all the way", and that the English people are "not too bright or good for human nature's daily food".

None the less, the value of the book is great. For one thing, it presents for the first time a comprehensive history of India more or less encyclopedic in character, based on the results of the latest explorations and excavations. European and American sociologists who used to think of Hindu attainments in terms of the *Manu Samhita* and the alleged pessimism of Buddha and who know Mohammedan India only in the pages of Elphinstone have but to open Mr. Smith's volume to be struck by the enormous advance in indology that has been systematically effected by the painstaking researches of scholars of both hemispheres. The author himself is not only an honored collaborator and authority among that band, but as the whirlgig of fortune would have it, he has been a direct stimulating power among the antiquarians and other intellectuals of India. As such he is, paradoxically enough, one of the unconscious spiritual fathers of that last wave of the "romantic movement" which is manifesting itself a Indian nationalism, the world forces of to-day.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Legal Literature.

The Principles of the Law of Crimes in British India. [Tagore Law Lectures, 1902.] By (Justice Nawab Sir) Syed Shamsul Huda (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1920.

The Law of Costs. By C. S. Somanatha Sastri, B. A., B. L. and R. Ramanatha Iyer, B. A., B. L. (The Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras) 1920.

Principle of Muhammedan Law By Faiz Badruddin Tyabji, M. A., Barrister-at-Law. (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta)1920.

The Law of Pre-emption in British India. By A. M. Ihsan-ullah Abbasi. Second edition. (Kazi and Company, Gorakhpore) 1920.

A Selection of Cases Illustrative of English Criminal Law. By Courtney Stanhope Kenny, LL. D., F. B. A. Fourth edition. (University Press, Cambridge) 1920.

The Civil Court Manual: Imperial Acts. By R. Narayanaswami Iyer, B. A., B. L. (Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras) 1920.

Some Reflections on Mr. Patel's Marriage Bill. By K. R. Daphtary. (Medow's Street, Fort, Bombay).

AT last—at long last—the Tagore Law Lectures of (the now) Justice Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul Huda, delivered by him in 1902 on "The Principles of the Law of Crimes in British India," have seen the light. They have been long in incubation but they are all the better on that account, since the learned author has taken advantage of the interval to make them thoroughly up-to-date and to enrich them with the gatherings and garnerings of his wide legal and judicial experience, acquired in the course of the last eighteen years. The book in the form now presented is undoubtedly the best introductory text-book to the study of Indian Criminal Jurisprudence. The treatment of the subject is not exhaustive but suggestive. Capacity to commit crimes, incohate crimes—that is, attempts and abetments—*mens rea* and words denoting it in the Indian Penal Code, conditions of non-imputability, consent and compulsion, possession in criminal law, the right of private defence, and procedure in criminal trials, are the subjects expounded with a ripe mastery and rare lucidity in Anglo-Indian legal literature. The book is a notable addition to the famous series of Tagore Law Lectures and a valuable acquisition to the literature of Criminal Jurisprudence, to the students of which it is bound to appeal as a masterly sketch of the principles of Indian criminal law. The get-up of the book is excellent.

After some years of inactivity on the part of the Law Printing House, Madras, due to war conditions, we are all the more pleased to welcome the third volume in their well-known "Lawyer's Companion

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series", which is *The Law of Costs*. The authors of the book under notice made their mark as capable and sound expositors of Anglo-Indian law by their two previous works in the same series—*The Law of Benami Transactions* and *The Law of Receievers*. Their present work—like its two predecessors—is both accurate and exhaustive. It is a big, bulky treatise of some 900 pages and deals comprehensively with every phase of the important subject of costs. An analytical table of contents, a carefully compiled table of cases, and an exhaustive index, enhance materially its value and utility as pre-eminently a work of reference.

In the *Hindustan Review* for 1913, we published a long critical but appreciative notice of the first edition of Mr. Faiz Tyabji's *Principles of Muhammadan Law*, as an excellent digest of a complete statement of the personal law applicable to Muslims in India. We, therefore, offer a very hearty welcome to its second edition, recently issued in a very neat get-up. The plan adopted by the author was so sound that—except in the matter of bringing the case-law up-to-date—no material changes have had to be made. But the book is thoroughly abreast of the latest judicial pronouncements, and we feel sure it will continue to be regarded as the best one volume digest of the Anglo-Mussalman laws. As a work of reference for the practising lawyer and the judge it is incomparably an ideal volume, since it offers a most accurate statement of the law on each subject.

Mr. Ihsan-ullah Abbasi's *Law of Pre-emption* was first issued in 1899; its second edition, which has been thoroughly overhauled, is, therefore welcome. It has had since its first appearance a formidable competitor in Dr. M. L. Agarwalla's treatise on the subject, which was first published in 1903 and went into its third edition in 1916. Nevertheless the utility of Mr. Abbasi's book remains and the edition under consideration, which is completely revised and enlarged and brought up-to-date in case-law, ought to continue to prove useful to the Bench and the Bar alike. We wish it were better got up.

Dr. Kenny's *Selection of Cases Illustrative of English Criminal Law*, having reached a fourth edition, hardly requires a reviewer's commendation. It has been long since acknowledged as the best text-book for students of the subject. The new edition is up-to-date and should be carefully studied by Indian students desirous of obtaining a clear idea, by means of vivid illustrations, of the actual working of the criminal law of England, on which the Indian criminal law is based.

There are various "Civil Court Manuals" and each of them has some distinctive merit. But that recently put together by Mr. R. Narayanaswami Iyer [illegible] India [illegible] the most compact and convenient one volume edition of the important Imperial Acts, that

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we know of. A volume of over 1,700 pages, it is nonetheless portable and handy and its neatness and excellent get-up reflect great credit on the enterprise of the editor and the publishers.

Those, interested in the subject of inter-caste marriages (which the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Bill attempts to legalise from the point of view of students of law should study Mr. K. R. Daphtry's *Some Reflections* on the measure before the Imperial Council. It presents in a compact from great dealof useful information, not easily accessible.

Our Library table : Miscellaneous Literature.

THOUGHTS on the Union between England and Scotland by Dr. Albert V. Dicey and Professor Robert S. Rait (Macmillan & Co., London) is not strictly speaking a work of history; it is rather and attempt to comment on the nature and the results of a great legal or political transaction. The Introductory part of the work deals with the points of likeness, and of unlikeness, between the English and Scottish Parliaments; and the three main divisions of the book are respectively concerned with (I) the Parliamentary Government of Scotland 1603-1707; (II) the Passing of the Act of Union; and (III) the Act of Union and its Results. The authors draw attention to the following points which are especially brought out by their study: (1) The conception of the difference between the Parliament of Scotland and the Parliament England; (2) the way in which this difference is connected with the passing of the Act of Union; (3) the extraordinary difficulty with which the passing and the success of the Act of Union were achieved (4) the skill with which the Whigs of Great Britain conceived of a policy which was at once revolutionary and conservative; and (5) the way in which this policy, whilst putting an end to the political independence both of England and of Scotland, created a real unity of Great Britain which has preserved for two centuries all that is good in the nationalism either of England or of Scotland. Coming as it does from the pens of two most competent scholars, it is a very valuable contribution to the historico-political literature of Great Britain, and it will be indispensable to the students of the British constitution.

We recently noticed in terms of appreciation Professor S. Radhakrishnan's *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*. We welcome with great pleasure his latest contribution to Philosophy called *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy* (Macmillan & Co., London.) The book is designed to show that of the two live philosophies of the present day, pluralistic theism and monistic idealism, the latter is the more reasonable as affording to the spiritual being of man full satisfaction, moral as well as intellectual. The author holds that the current pluralistic systems are the outcome of the interference of religious prejudice with the genuine spirit of specul[illegible]nd his work includes

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an examination of contemporary philosophy with a view to showing how its deviations from the 'high road' of absolutism are all due to 'the reign of religion in philosophy.' Whatever view one may take of the soundness of the author's contention, no student of present-day problems in philosophy can afford to neglect it, for it is an able, lucid and comprehensive sketch of a great and important subject.

In Poems from Beyond (Watts & Co., London) the author strikes out upon a path distinctly his own. He presents to us the experiences and cogitations of one who is supposed to have passed from this bewildering plane to the vastness of the Afterworld. He displays deep insight from his novel standpoint; and, while aiming many a well-directed shaft at our conventional weaknesses, he commands a wide and healthy view of human destiny, and of the way in which true progress lies. His language is simple and clear, often sparkling with an individual vein of humour; and his message is uplifting in its inspiration. It is an interesting volume, by reason of its warm humanity, and it will leave an impression because of its originality, power, and truthfulness.

Though many authologies of the poems composed during the period of the last war have been compiled, there can be no doubt that Professor G. H. Clarke's *A Treasury of War Poetry* (Hodder and Stoughton, London) is the most comprehensive collection of its class and kind. It brings together an almost exhaustive selection from the British and American poems composed during the world war (1914-19). The editor has enriched his authology with an interesting Introduction and notes. Readers of the war poems will find within the covers of this book all that they may reasonably look or care for.

The Inclusive Edition of Rudyard Kipling's Verse (Hodder and Stoughton, London) in three handsome volumes ought to find a large circulation in India. Kipling is pre-eminently an Anglo-Indian poet and some of his best known poems deal with Indian themes. This superb complete edition of the poet—bringing together all his poems written from 188 to 1918—should, therefore, find a place in every library in this country. The get-up, formal and mechanical execution of the book do credit to the enterprise of the publishers.

Mr. George Sampson has done well to edit for the benefit of students an abridged edition of Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, along with Words worth's prefaces and essays on Poetry (University Press, Cambridge). It is enriched with a luminous, introductory essay from the pen of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, and is carefully annotated with elucidatory matter by the editor. It should form the best guide to the study of the literary criticism of Coleridge and Wordsworth.

The Writers' and Artists' year-Book for 1920 (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London) edited by Mr. G. E. Mitton—which is now in the thirteenth year of publication—is an excellent and very useful work of reference

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as a directory of journals and periodicals, publishers, literary agents, press-photographers, cutting supplying agencies, literary societies and clubs, manuscript syndicates and other institutions for authors, journalists and artists. It should be indispensable to authors and Journalists.

The towering personality of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee has been recently the subject of two booklets—one "a character study" by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (D. P. Datta, 32, Simla Street, Calcutta) and the other a sketch of "his life and mission" by Mr. P. Bose, M. A. (19, Shama Charan De Street, College Square, Calcutta). Both of them of are well-written and they usefully supplement each other.

To "Longman's Indian Classics," Mr. Channing Arnold has added useful and interesting *resume* of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* (Longmans Green & Co., Bombay and London). Those who know Mr. Arnold's contribution dealing with the *Hitopadesa* to the same series need scarcely be told what an excellent sketches of the subjects he has written for the benefit of the Indian students.

Mr. R. W. Hutchinson's *Intermediate Text-book of Magnetism and Electricity* (University Tutorial Press, Ltd., High Street, New Oxford Street, London) is about the best treatise on the subject for the class it caters for. It provides a course of theoretical and practical Magnetism and Electricity for Intermediate standard students and is exceedingly well put together. Altogether a very useful text-book.

Mr. Alfred Nundy is too well-known a publicist to need our commendation for his *Political Problems and Hunter Committee Disclosures*. ("The Leader" Press, Allahabad). Students of contemporary Indian affairs will find in it much that is useful and instructive. It deserves a large circulation not only in India but even in Great Britain.

A Guide to the University of Cambridge by "Two of 'Em" (Deighton, Bell & Co., Ltd., Cambridge) is a useful little handbook and will be of great service to those intending to join that university. The information offered is methodically arranged and systematized and the maps are clear. It should have been better bound.

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KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I—*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*I will hear.* (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Literature.*)

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thoughts or points of view, but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

Mr. Justice Gokul Prasad.

A CHARACTER SKETCH.

The following are extracts from a contribution sent to us by Mr. Shiva Prasad Sinha, Bar-at-Law.]

THE elevation of Rai Gokul Prasad Bahadur marks the recognition not only of the claims of the Vakil section of the bar but the claims of conspicuous ability and distinguished merit which are a distinctive tradition of his family.

Mr. Justice Gokul Prasad was born on the 18th of February, 1867 at Benares. He was educated at the Government High School, Allahabad, and the Muir Central College. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1886 with double honours in English and Sanskrit. In 1886 he took his M. A. which brought him at once to the cross roads. A man of intensely religious habits and scholarly tastes, he would have, left to himself, preferred the quiet life of a professor, if no actually the "cloistered pale," to the din and bustle of the legal profession. But how could his uncle, Munshi Madho Prasad shed away his love for the profession which had repaid his father's labours so well and so handsomely and was not indifferent to himself either. In 1889 he passed the Bachelor and Laws examination and started practice in the Civil courts at Allahabad in 1890. In 1891 he went to Hardoi where he practised till March 1892, in July of which year he was appointed an officiating Munsif at Moradabad. He served in that capacity in the districts of Moradabad, Ghazipur and Farrukhabad up to the year 1898 when his uncle died. The death of Munshi Madho Prasad left the family in deep distress and he had to resign his service in which he had already made his mark as a capable officer. Official preferments in the case of a man of his sterling merits would not have taken long to come but the exigencies of the family were pressing and the demand of the moment left him no option

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and he came back to Allahabad. He joined the High Court in 1898. What are really called the days of waiting he had never to pass through, what is usually known as luxuriating in a briefless existence he never had to undergo. From the very day that he joined the High Court he enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the bench and the bar. A clear thinker and a skilful advocate, a master of facts and of case-law, a lawyer of scrupulous thoroughness, it was always a treat to hear him arguing a complicated case whether of facts or law. Besides the High Court practice he had a large mufassil practice and we doubt if there are many in the High Court who command as much of it as he did.

Mr. Justice Gokul Prasad is a gentleman of versatile activities. He was elected President of the Kayastha Pathshala in the year 1904 and served that institution till the year 1913 after which he did not seek re-election. He was also an Honorary Magistrate till very recently which office is now being filled by his son, Babu Badri Narain, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court. He is also a fellow of the Allahabad University and for his services to the cause of education was made a Rai Bahadur in 1910. He also served on the Education Committee in 1907, 1911, 1913 and 1916, the Education Hygiene Committee at Naini Tal in 1913, and the School Accommodation Committee in 1916. He is now a member of the University Reorganisation Committee. He was sent to the Local Legislative Council as a representative of the Benares Division in 1912 after which he never sought re-election. He is also closely connected with the temperance movement in India, having been a member of the All-India Temperance deputation which waited on the Viceroy in 1913 and was the President of the All-India Temperance Conference held at Bombay in 1915.

Activities like these speak for themselves and now at the age of fifty-three he is going to the bench with "no enemies at the bar" as Mr. Wallace gracefully and truly observed the other day.

THE LATE BABU JYOTIS SWARUPA.

The many friends and admirers of the late Babu Jyotis Swarupa of Dehra Dun will be sorry to learn of his death which occurred on the 1st of May 1920, at the age of 59. He was a Kayastha and a native of the Muzaffarnagar District. He had, however, settled and practised at Dehra Dun, where from very modest beginnings he built an extensive practice and wielded an influence in all the surrounding districts and the neighbouring States of Tehri and Nahan Sirmoor.

But the public will miss him most in connection with his many-sided activities for the good of the people. He was married to the daughter of the late Rai Sohan Lal Sahib, the famous educationist who, along with the late Dr. Paton, another pioneer educationist of Bihar, did solid work for the cause of education in [illegible]vince in the early

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nineties of the last century; the ever-lasting fruit of their labours being the well-known Hindi-English Dictionary compiled by them. Mrs. Jyotis Swarupa was a great educationist and founded in Dehra Dun the Arya Kanya Pathshala which has a record of useful work to its credit. Sir Narayan Chandarvarkar in his recent speech at Bombay on the cause of Social Reform in India deplored the death of an educationist like Mrs. Jyotis Swarupa. The Government also recognised her work and awarded her the Kaisar-i-Hind medal in recognition of her services for the cause of female education. Needless to say that all this was the result of the joint labours of both Mr. and Mrs. Jyotis Swarupa.

Babu Jyotis Swarupa was also a great social reformer. For the betterment of the cause of female education he sent in 1912 his only daughter to England to take special instruction at Bedford College, London, and come out equipped as a capable and efficient teacher who could model his Girl's school on the best European lines suited to the country. Unfortunately this was not to be, for his daughter died on her arrival in the country. His wife had also predeceased him, but nothing daunted by all these domestic misfortunes he went on working for the cause of education and the welfare of the Pathshala at Dehra Dun. He was a prominent Arya Samajist (as one who had sat at the feet of the great Swami Daya Nand Saraswati) and a great Social reformer. He was elected President of the Lucknow Session of the Indian Social Conference in the year 1916. He was a sound Sanskrit and Oriental Scholar and a lawyer of high repute. His self-sacrificing work was spread in many directions, the last phase of his activity being that in the Katarpur case. He was a man of a very pure character and high principles and was held in the highest esteem by the public and the Government alike. He was a special Magistrate and Assistant Collector. His death is a great loss to Upper India. We offer our condolence to his brother Rai Bahadur Lala Har Swarupa Sahib, Retired Conservator of Forests and his brothers-in-law Mr. Bhavani Prasad, Deputy Collector in Bihar and Mr. Durga Prasad, Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.

AN INTER-MARRIAGE.

We hasten to offer our sincerest felicitatious to Munshi Chhotu Lal Saheb—the revered father of our esteemed friend, Munshi Iswar Saran—for the courage he has displayed in giving his whole-hearted consent to the marriage of his grandson, Mr. Shankar Saran, Bar-at-law—the eldest son of Munshi Iswar Saran—to a grand-daughter of Rai Jwala Prasad Saheb of Lucknow, which happy event took place at Lucknow on the 8th of May last. The bridegroom, as is well-known to our readers, is a Srivastav and the bride belongs to the Ashthana sub-section of the community. Munshi Iswar Saran's enlightened views are well-known. But although Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha showed the way as far back as [illegible] years ago when he married the late lamented

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Mrs. Sinha, and although a great deal of talk as to the urgent necessity of this reform has been indulged in since, so few of us are prepared to take the lead themselves that Munshi Iswar Saran is entitled to the gratitude of the entire community for the bold step he has taken. Rai Jwala Prasad Saheb is one of those practical reformers—unhappily not yet to be found in large numbers in the community—who believe in action rather than in words, and this is not the first inter-marriage that has been celebrated in his family. We again offer our warmest congratulations to the two families and wish the young couple a bright and happy future.

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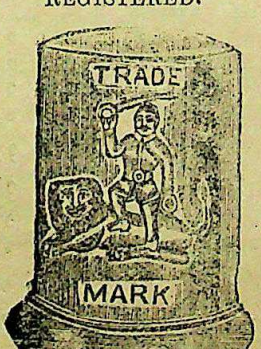

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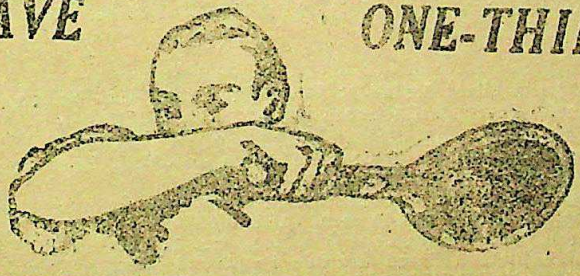

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THE

Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."

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Indian Youth and the League of Nations.

By Mr. FREDERICK J. GOULD.

(*Hon. Sec. International Moral Education Congress*).

ABOUT twenty nationalities sent representatives to the first meeting of the International Moral Education Congress, held in London in 1908. It was a great pleasure to hear so many voices joining in friendly discussion on questions relating to the training of youth. The connexion between religion and morality was dealt with, and no discord occurred.

The Congress met again at the city of The Hague, in Holland, in 1912. This meeting was numerously attended, and prominent among the delegates was Dr. D. P. Sarvadhikari, of the University of Calcutta. I am pleased to say that the Indian speaker received a most cordial hearing every time he appeared on the platform.

In the ordinary course, a third meeting would have taken place in 1916, at Paris. The wicked attack of Austria-Germany upon the peace of the world shattered this good work, as it did so many others. From 1914 till December, 1919, the Executive Council suspended action. It has now resumed, under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Pollock,

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who is well-known for his writings on law, and on the philosophy of Spinoza. The Council consists of about 30 members, representing England, United States, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, etc., and we have recently added to the Indian membership, the three representatives of India now being Dr. Sarvadhikari, Mr. K. Natarajan of Poona, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali. The liberal principle animating the enterprise will be understood from the following statement of the Object and Basis :—

Object :—To enlist the active co-operation of all, irrespective of race, nation, and creed, in promoting the work of Moral Education.

Basis :—The Congress does not advocate the views of any society or party, but affords to all who are interested in Moral Education, whatever their religious or ethical conviction, nationality, and point of view, an equal opportunity of expressing their opinions and comparing them with those of others.

In this spirit, which invites the co-operation of all schools of thought and faith, we are preparing for the Paris Congress, to be held in September, 1921. Among the subjects to be discussed at Paris will be Youth and the League of Nations. An immense number of people all over the world desire the firm establishment of the League, which should finally include every nation on earth. But there are many difficulties in the way. The hesitation of the United States is one, and there are others. All the more reason then, for rousing the interest of young citizens in all countries, and for kindling in their hearts the desire to aid, as they grow older, in developing and confirming this noble institution. Indian parents and teachers, and Indian journalists can appeal to these young souls, in the name both of India and of Humanity.

In sympathy and intelligence, Indian youth is in no wise in arrear of the European or American. I speak from some personal knowledge, having had the honour of addressing High-school pupils (in 1913) at Bombay, Poona, Belgaum, Dharwar, Karachi, Hyderabad (Sind), Ahmedabad, Surat and Baroda. Their demeanour and responses showed the same keenness and humane temper as one encounters in the youth of New York or Philadelphia, London or Edinburgh. This primary fact gives us confidence that young India will be as willing to assist the great work as young England, young France, or young America.

Another helpful factor lies in the political situation of India to-day. India contains many types of communities, which speak a variety of languages, and exhibit great differences of custom and culture. Yet it has a unity, which is becoming more and more pronounced. In a certain sense, we might say India is itself a League of Nations. Hence, intelligent young citizens of India can readily appreciate the task which lies to-day before civilization, for civilization seeks to do for the globe what Indian citizenship seeks to do for India, namely, to attain unity beneficial to each part, and beneficial to the whole.

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Let me quote the circular issued in April, 1920, by the Executive Council of the Congress :—

We assume that all concerned in the education of the young wish to secure the smypathy and support of youth in the moral purpose of the League of Nations. In this sphere our studies should deal with (1) General Aims of the Appeal and the Instruction, (2) Methods of Presentation.

(1) *General Aims.*—To humanize (that is, moralize) the teaching of geography, literature, art, science, economics, industry, and of history in the widest sense, so as to elucidate the ideas of national values and international co-operation.

And to announce, in an interesting manner, from time to time, the work done by the League of Nations, and improvements in its constitution and programme.

(2) *Methods of Presentation* :—We might, in the first place, issue (after consultation) a draft programme of such instruction, leaving teachers, parents, and writers in each nationality to develop the themes in accordance with local habits, requirements, and ideals.

And we might begin to sketch the contents of a book for the universal instruction of the youth of the world, to be translated into many languages, its object being to cultivate a spirit of mutual understanding and fraternity.

I think it would be true to say that this proposal breathes the spirit of religion. By religion I mean that "Religion of Humanity" which finds its highest expression in service of family, of country, and of mankind. This ideal of the League of Nations is one that should invite the philosopher, the politician, the merchant, the raiyat. It should attract the Sita-heart of Hindu womanhood. It should kindle the missionary soul of Islam. It should call to Indian youth as for a noble pilgrimage, the goal of which is the shrine of universal co-operation.

I earnestly beg for the help of all Indians ; and I trust the Editor will allow me to say communications may be addressed to me at ARMOREL, WOODFIELD AVENUE, EALING, LONDON, ENGLAND.

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Mr. Lionel Curtis and the Princes' Chamber.

By AN "INDIAN THINKER."

THE ominous figure of Mr. Lionel Curtis shot through the horizon of India, like a comet, at the dawn of the Reform era, causing a rift in the flute of the National Congress, which began to give forth two inharmonious sounds. Whether it was the impatience of the older leaders, who saw the fulfilment of most of their cherished ideals in it, which made them accept the scheme of diarchy, or the ambitious ideals of the majority, which made them regard it as unsatisfactory; both appear to have missed the point in the idea started by Mr. Curtis. Otherwise the former would not have welcomed his solution nor the latter called the Reforms Act disappointing. The diarchy proposed by Mr. Curtis was not a first step towards Self-Government, while the so-called extremists should not have based any hopes on it so as to get disappointed at the result.

Mr. Curtis in his studies embodied in his "The Commonwealth of Nations" * has clearly exposed his heart and the opinion he holds of the Indian Nation. The book does not seem to have attracted as much attention as its importance, due to its author, demands. In the opening chapter of his book, Mr. Curtis asserts that democracy never flourished in India; it never waned in England. The researches of the galaxy of the Bengali scholars do not seem to have reached him. He forgets that in Northern India a republic came down to the days of the Moghal Empire. The Reform bill of 1885 alone introduced real democracy in Britain. Why India as a whole remained subject to personal domination and Britain, even though by an uneven course, reached a popular constitution, are questions not germane to the subject under discussion.

Mr. Curtis's description of the Athenian Empire reveals a prototype of the British Empire in India. The dangers, which the former failed to avoid, are lurking in the evolution of the latter. It has been said that the Empire in India is neither Indian nor is it an Empire. It is not Indian, because it is dominated by an alien culture; it is not an Empire because the paramountsy of the British has no legal sanction. Lord Curzon

* Macmillan and Co., London, 1916.

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extended the use of the adjective Imperial, the noun having been introduced by that erratic genious Disraeli, who disclaimed all legitimate connotations of the word, simply to designate the Government of India Departments as distinguished from the Provincial Administrations.

A common foe led to a combination of the Grecian States, and Athens, being more organised than the others, became the leader. Gradually the common defence became its duty, which others relegated into its hands, and it being the main cause of the existence of all the States, Athens assumed an importance quite out of proportion to its legal status. In India the Pindhari hordes caused trouble to all organised States. To meet this common enemy, the Government of the East India Company assumed leadership and rose to the same position as Athens did. Not having encountered an Alexander, the former carried its pretensions to far greater lengths than Athens dreamt of before it toppled down. The Indian Mutiny of 1857 was, however, an eye-opener to the British statesmen and the Queen's proclamation of 1859 was a graceful retreat from a position of weakness and danger. Forgetful of this development the later statesmen were again misled by the apparent position of the British in India, but the great European war again came in time to remind them of the real position.

It required the confidence of a Lord Hardinge to thoroughly rely on the spontaneous devotion of the Indian Princes and people to the British cause. A want of confidence at such a time would have done an irreparable harm to the Commonwealth on the battle-fields of Europe and might have led the forces of internal disruption to raise their heads. It was fortunate that the aggressive and domineering policy of Lord Curzon had already been reversed by Lord Minto, and Lord Hardinge, with his diplomatic training in many courts, had realized that the policy of union could not be based on force but on love.

The evolution of the Princes' Chamber from their informal gatherings for particular purposes requires the same tact and foresight of which Lord Hardinge was a master. Any false ideas of hegemony, or to use a familiar expression, paramountsy, and a perception of the real, as distinguished from the legal, position of the other party, not tinged with broad statesmanship, will lead to discontent and while apparently and for a time a union may be achieved, the seeds of decay will be sown. Facts must be faced

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boldly and the right time should be chosen. While each party is jealous of its rights and privileges no union is possible. As Mr. Curtis observes, in connection with the union of England with Scotland, "a false union which purported to unite them without impairing the sovereignty of either would infallibly have ended in the domination of the weak by the stronger, a domination which would have been exercised, as in Ireland, in part by corruption and in part by force. Judging from Ireland the results would so have embittered the relations of the two peoples as to have made the final achievement of union at a later date immeasurably harder." Those who would form the Chamber inspite of a powerful minority should heed this warning.

The relations between the British Government and the Indian States were originally based upon written documents, but the vicissitudes of the British Policy have, on the analogy of the common law of England, created a case law over and above them. This has introduced an undefined position. A definable union will require a clearing of this position. It is this fact which has led the authors of the Reforms report to suggest the codification of the existing practice and if necessary revision of treaties.

The following quotation from Mr. Curtis will show the dangers of the Reproposed step. "Treaties" says Mr. Curtis, "are never so difficult to make, or if made, so precarious, as between communities whose mutual relations are undefined. Where the independence of the two States is admitted by both as unqualified and un-reserved, an element of suspicion is eliminated. But where States are endeavouring to square the political circle and to reconcile their independence with common membership in an 'Empire' they view every proposal for co-operation with the utmost suspicion as 'an incipient and creeping union' Negotiations between States which admit their mutual independence proceed frankly on the basis of self-interest. Those between States of an inorganic Empire are for ever complicated by appeals to some mutual obligations which the parties have failed to define or to realize. Such is human nature, that negotiations cannot resist the temptation of claiming concessions to their particular interests on the ground of Imperial obligation, and the whole atmosphere becomes tainted with hypocrisy."

These pregnant observations deserve to be carefully pondered over by those statesmen who seek to bring about a closer union between the component parts of the Indian Empire. Instead of cementing its parts, the present attempts are likely to lead to its disruption. Already the relations between the dominant factor and others have practically become undefined. Then there is mutual jealousy between the former dominant party and the present equals or would-be equals. In these circumstances a forced union would make the "final achievement of union at a later date immeasurably harder." The time for the Princes, Chamber is not yet.

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The Vajji Country and the Mallas of Pava.

By the late Mr. Harnandan Pandey, B. A.

VAJJI COUNTRY.

MANY details about the administrative institutions of the Vajjis (Sanskrit Vrijis or Vrijikas) are preserved in the Buddhist Sutra literature There is much also to be found about the life of the people, their prosperity and some of their festivals in these Sutras and the *Jatakas* which also give many details of their political constitution. But comparatively very little is known about the extent and boundaries of the territory occupied by these powerful people who appear to have evolved one of the most democratic forms of Government the world has ever seen. That their country lay to the north of the Ganges is of course known, but the other boundaries are uncertain. In the first chapter of the *Mahaparinibhana Suttanta* Vesāli is mentioned as the Capital of the Vajji country ; but further on where the citizens of Vesāli who came to pay respects to the Buddha are mentioned they are designated not as Vajjis—as in the preceding passage - but as Lichchhavis. We know from Manu (X, 22) that Lichchhāvis (it seems that at the time of the extant reduction of the Manusmriti this idiosyncratic form of the old name had gained currency) were *Rajanya—vratyas* that is Kshattriyas born of Kshattriya parents who did not receive the consecrations prescribed for the twice-born. It thus appears that the name Lichchhavi was restricted to the Kshattriyas of the country and it is probable that the name Vajji was of wider application and included all the people within the country named after them. The two names could then be interchangable to a certain extent as is shown by their use in the Pali Sutras.

But in Kautilya's *Artha-Sastra* both the Lichchhavis and Vrijis are mentioned in the list * of republics all the members of which bore the title Rajan. Does this suggest that there were two republics, one of the Lichchhavis and the other of the Vrijis ? It is difficult at the present moment to answer this question one way or the other. The testimony of Pali literature is in favour of a negative answer. But the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien and Hiuen Thsang lead to a different conclusion at least so far as the later period of the history of these republics is concerned. Fa Hien calls the country of which Vaisali was capital "the kingdom of Vaisali"† and the people of the country are called Lichchhavis.‡ There is no mention of the Vrijis in his short account. Hiuen Thsang describes Vaisali and Vriji as two distinct countries. Watters, though inclined to disbelieve the accuracy of Hiuen Thsang's description of the Vriji country as distinct from the Vaisali country, admits however, that the language of the passage in which the distances and bearings of the monuments and sacred spots in the Vriji country are recorded "seems to intimate that the pilgrim is writing from a personal visit."§ According to Hiuen Thsang

* *Artha-Sastra*, 2nd Ed. p. 378.

† Legge, *Travels of Fa Hien*, p. 72.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 71.

§ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 88.

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the Vaisali country was above 5,000 *li* in circuit while the circuit of the Vriji country was about 1,000 *li* less. The capital of the Vriji country according to Hiuen Thsang lay some 500 *li* to the north-east of Vaisali or the spot on the Ganges where the stupa over the bodily relics of Ananda stood. The capital of this country is given as *Chan-Shu-na ;* and a large number of sites and places connected with the Buddha are mentioned by the pilgrim as having existed within this country at the time of his visit. It is apparent that such evidence as is supplied by the pilgrim's account whether based on personal observation or on information received at Vaisali during his stay there, cannot be dismissed lightly.

On the occasion of my visit to Rampurwa (in the Champaran District) in June 1919 I came across a piece of evidence which is of interest in this connexion.

A very long strip of land in the sub-Himalayan Tarai from Jalpaiguri to Kamaun is inhabited by a tribe called Tharus. Some of their settlements are within British territory and some within the boundaries of the Nepal Raj. Ethnologists are not agreed as to the origin of this race and they have been described as Dravidians by some and Mongolians by others. But some of their institutions are of unquestioned antiquity—such as the village communities and the council of elders for deciding disputes * which it appears to me they learnt from their republican neighbours on the south. These people up to the present day call the villages inhabited by non-Tharus, Baji villages and the inhabitants, irrespective of their caste, religion or race, Bajis. This designation of their frontier neighbours is interesting and the term appears to be a Tharu corruption of Sanskrit Vriji or Pali Vajji. It has no other meaning in the language of the Tharus or the other vernaculars of the district. The non-Tharu people of the locality cannot explain the name given by their uncouth neighbours but use the term to distinguish villages and lands from those inhabited by or belonging to the Tharus. The significance of this survival of an old name when its meaning is forgotten need hardly be exaggerated. That the Tharus are not recent immigrants into the country now inhabited by them is proved even independently of this evidence for the antiquity of their occupation, by their very life and the nature of their country which ensures to them a continuity and longevity of existence that no other race or country has ever enjoyed.

It appears thus that at least in the 7th Century A. C. the Vriji country was distinct from the country of which Vaisali was the capital and it was "long from east to west and narrow from north to south" and about 4000 *li* in circuit.† This narrow strip of land south of the Tharuhat contains many ancient monuments and sites. Some of the most important of these are the Asoka columns at Rampurwa, Lauriya (Araraj) and Nandangarh; the stūpas at Kesariyā, and Sāgar; and the ruins at Chānki and Nandangarh as well as the numerous earthen mounds at the last named place. Identifications of some of these have been proposed in the past; but none has yet been satisfactorily established or even generally accepted. This has been due in a great measure to the uncertainty which has prevailed so long as t the accuracy of the account given by Hiuen Thsang relating to the monuments in the area now known as Tirhut and the only hope of solution of these and connected problems lies in systematic excavation of the important sites.

* Calcutta Review LXXX, 1885.

† T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 81.

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The Mallas of Pava.

Like the Lichchhavis, the Mallas constituted a powerful republic and appear to have formed a confederacy with the Vajjis. They were divided into two sections one with their capital at Kusinara and the other at Pava. Their political constitution appears on the authority of Pali literature and the *Artha-Sastra* to be similar to the Lichchhavis and they too are classed by Manu among Vratya-Kshattriyas. Though thus ranking with the powerful Lichchhavis the information we possess about their country is much less in extent as well as in precision than in the case of the Lichchhavis. That they were neighbours of the Lichchhavis can be gathered from the accounts preserved in literature; but the exact direction in which Kusinara and Pava lay from Vaisali or Pataliputra is not known. The portion of the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims dealing with these places is obscure and scholars have differed very widely in proposing the most probable sites of Kusinara. Notable among these are the opinions of Mr. Vincent Smith and Sir Alexander Cunningham. Mr. Vincent Smith has held that the site of Kusinara must be looked for in the Nepal territory a few miles beyond Gurunggaon in Long. 84°51'E and Lat. 27°3' E.* General Cunningham believed that the remains at Kaseya, a village in the Gorakhpur district, marked the site of ancient Kusinagar.† Though older in date than Mr. Smith's, this identification has been generally accepted and subsequent excavations have afforded evidence, which though not conclusive is yet sufficiently convincing in its accumulative effect, ‡ of the correctness of the hypothesis.

Pava was situated very close to Kusinara. It was at this place that the Buddha took his last meal at the house of Chunda, the artisan, before attaining his nirvana. Between Pava and Kusinara flowed the Kakuttha *nadi*. § Cunningham has identified the modern village of Padrauna the head-quarters of a tahsil of the same name in the Gorakhpur district with the Pava of the Mallas. Philologically this is an impossibility. But the site of ancient Pava must be in the same neighbourhood if the identification of Kaseya with Kusinara is not wholly incorrect.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that a section of the people inhabiting this part of the country still style themselves as Mallas. These are the Sainthwars whose position in the scale of Hindu society at the present day is dependant upon the financial resources and local influence of the individual families—some of whom at least are given a place next below the Kshattriyas. The most notable representative of the Sainthwar community in the Gorakhpur district is the Rai Saheb of Padrauna. The traditions which were current in this family were compiled a few years ago in an Urdu book by Muhammad Abdul Ghafoor, a retired local officer of Government. The account of the origin of the Sainthwars given in such a book can hardly be accepted as authentic and if it ever becomes possible to write a critical history of the Sainthwars many of the statements contained in this book will have to be considerably modified if not altogether rejected. Through the very kind offices of the District Magistrate

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* J. R. A. S., 1902, 158.

† This identification was first proposed by Wilson. See Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 480 fo., *A. S. R.*, vol.—p.

‡ *A. S. R.*, 190 , p. ; 120 , p. ; 190 , p. ; and 190 , p.

§ *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta* (Trübner's Edition) p. 47.

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of Gorakhpur and his staff I have now been able to ascertain a few very interesting details about the Sainthwars of Padrauna. * The Sainthwars occupy about one hundred villages in the Padrauna tahsil and are generally of a fair complexion and are believed to have been descended from Aryan ancestors. It is supposed that these Sainthwars came from parganah Lakhnaur in the Azamgarh district where a large number of their kin still reside and style themselves Mallas. But the Raja of Majhauli, to whose court they are said to have migrated as adventurous soldiers from Kara near Allahabad during the reign of Humayun, is believed to have come from the same ancestor as the Sainthwars, and their descendants (though they are recognised to be Rajputs) have been styled Mallas which title they retain even now along with the better class of Sainthwars. The Sainthwars claim to be Kshattriyas which claim is very much resented by some high caste Hindus in the locality From the above it is clear that the surmise I made when I first addressed my enquiries regarding the Mallas of Padrauna that they are the modern representatives of the ancient Mallas of Pava has proved to be substantially correct. They have the title of Malla; their ancestors were soldiers; they claim origin from the ancestors of recognised Kshattriyas famed for their army (Vishena); † the generality of them do not take the consecrations prescribed for the twice-born. These are all indicative of a close affinity between the present day Mallas and the Mallas of ancient fame. According to Manu (X, 22) the ancient Mallas were Vratya-Kshattriyas like the Lichchhavis, their neighbours. The term Vratya-Kshattriya is explained in the same code as meaning persons descended from Kshattriya fathers and Kshattriya mothers who did not receive the consecrations of the twice-born.

The importance of this discovery lies in the indirect support it gives to the identification of Kaseya with Kusinara and the surrounding country with the territory of the two sections of the Mallas. Unfortunately very little is known of the history of these Mallas subsequent to their defeat along with the Lichchhavis by Ajatasatur of Magadha which event appears to have taken place soon after the decease of the Buddha (543 B. C.) That they formed an independent republic in the days of Chandragupta Maurya (322-298 B. C.) is indicated by the *Artha-Sastra* ascribed to Kautilya the chancellor of Chandragupta. It is probable that they continued in the enjoyment of their independence until the days of the Guptas. If the history of the Mallas of Padrauna and Lakhnaur could be collected much light is expected to be thrown on the dark period of their subsequent history. That there is some hope in this direction is proved by the fact that the traditional origin of the Sainthwars is ascribed to Mayura-Bhatta who is known to have been a contemporary of Bana at the court of Harshavardhana of Kanauj (620 A. C.) by which time the old Mallas had probably lost their republican form of government and perhaps also their territory, and possibly something more than that—their integrity and individuality as a separate nation.

* I am obliged to Mr. A. P. Coistt, I. C. S. for his very kind assistance in these enquiries and for the reports of the local officers which he has forwared to me.

† The Raja of Majhauli is a Vishena Kshattriya.

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Mr. Dalal's Views on Currency.

By Mr S. A. PANDE, M A., LL. B.

HAVING reviewed in brief the main propositions of the majority report, it is now necessary to compare them with those of Mr. Dalal. Generally, the impression of the reader would be that while the majority report takes up step by step all the terms of reference and answers them logically and clearly, no attempt seems to have been made by Mr. Dalal to do the same. It is very difficult to see on what logical basis Mr. Dalal proceeds. His report is a long one and consists of some 78 paragraphs. Whatever may be the form and manner in which Mr. Dalal expresses his ideas, we shall examine them for what they are worth, taking them subject by subject.

Mr. Dalal does not examine the effects of the war on Indian currency and exchange in separate paragraphs, but touches on them here and there superficially. We have no quarrel with him however on this point, for they are facts on which none can raise any fiction.

Coming to the second part of the terms of reference, we have to see what Mr. Dalal proposes to do in future with our currency and exchange. He says that the rupee should remain related to the sovereign in future as in the past, in the ratio of 15 Rs. to a £. This is the basic difference of opinion between him on the one hand, and all the other members of the Committee on the other as the latter suggest a ratio of 10 Rupees to a sovereign. Now in the interest of stability of exchange—and it is no unimportant principle to maintain stability—it was necessary to the way to maintain the old ratio current since 1893 A. D. for his defeating stability when we introduce the new level. The reasons given by the majority report are that it is more convenient and expedient to introduce stability at this new level now current than to seek to bring back the old level of exchange rate (para. 36); especially so when silver is likely to remain dear for many years to come. Prediction is never a safe game, yet very likely considering the demand and supply of silver, it is not improbable that it may remain dear for a long time to come. Mr. Dalal contends that this new level is not necessary and says that if silver were

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allowed to be exported from India on a large scale, if gold were to be imported freely in adjustment of India's claims, if large loans are floated in India by the Government of Great Britain, and further if a duty sufficient to recoup the loss now entailed in the coinage of rupees by the purchase of dear silver, were levied on all exports of India, the Government could maintain the old level of exchange, if they on their part restrict the sale of council bills whenever necessary to prevent minting rupees at a loss (see paras 32 to 40 of the minority report).

It was not possible to float loans of British Government in India, all the more so at this critical time of war and after war; nor would perhaps the export of Indian silver have been possible, nor would it have eased the silver strain of the whole world ; but the other remedies of Mr. Dalal would have worked well and effectively.

Government could certainly have withdrawn themselves from the policy of selling councils for trade purposes and this difficulty would have disappeared ; but to do so would have been to make it impossible for Britishers to make purchases in India with the result that the British trade and British people would have starved for want of raw-materials and food ; for they could not and did not like to send gold to India to any large extent ; for to part with their gold would have meant starving their trade again by shortage of capital ; so generally this new policy is only in the interests of the British nation, while Mr. Dalal's policy would certainly have been more beneficial to India. It would have prevented all the loss to India arising from this new level, which is admitted by the majority also, such as the loss caused from the revaluation of our paper currency and gold standard reserves and other cash balances in England, as well as the loss on exports and export business, and yet introduced a check to the rise in prices in India by preventing exports of Indian goods to foreign countries. This would have helped the Indian industries to purchase locally at cheap rates all the Indian raw materials and compete with British industries more effectively, similarly the duty on Indian exports would have saved the situation considerably. In view of the large volume of exports—all the more so in the after-war increased commercial activities of the whole world—the duty realized on the Indian exports would have been appreciable and helpful to support exchange at the old level. But perhaps this action would have

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made Indian exports dearer to foreign merchants and the fear of their clamour deterred the Government of India from resorting to this device. Mr. Dalal is much excited on the introduction of this new ratio of exchange and considering the evil effects of the same on India's welfare and the advantages secured by this smooth working to the foreign merchants, the indignation of Mr. Dalal is not unjustified.

Mr. Dalal was thus opposed to the one modification of changing the ratio between gold coin and the silver rupee, but he wanted that a new coin of 2 Rupees or so with reduced fineness of silver in the same should have been introduced by the Government. This the majority report rejected as undesirable in view of Gresham's Law and also on the ground that it would be too bulky a coin for many of the small transactions of the Indian people. It was certainly not desirable to introduce this base coin which would have unnecessarily multiplied the denominations of the existing coins. Debasement of currency is never a better method than even paper currency with elasticity.

Theoretically as well as from a practical standpoint, it would be better to increase paper currency temporarily to meet the increased demand for currency, than to introduce baser metallic coinage competing with other superior metal coins. Further the remedies suggested by Mr. Dalal to meet the strain, and outlined in this article above, were sufficient in themselves to meet the present stringency in the metallic rupee currency.

In the lower coinage the committee sanctioned the introduction of nickel 8 anna-pieces and other pieces of smaller denominations. Mr. Dalal speaks only of 8 anna-pieces and protests that nickel 8 anna-pieces should be rejected in favor of a smaller coin of reduced fineness. Of course this latter proposal is better of the two; but one could as well dispense with this radical change by multiplying only the copper coins and leaving the other coins as they are. It would not obstruct trade, internal or external, so much. The practice of constant changes or any changes at all in the existing currency of the realm are never desirable nor expedient as they never redound to the credit of the Government.

As for the future stabilizing of exchange, his remedies, besides those discussed above, are the opening of a gold mint and gold coining in the Bombay royal mints. The committee adopt

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this view though they would still like to discourage the use of gold coinage for the internal situation in India. Mr. Dalal's further proposals to maintain this stability are the free import and export of silver and of gold also; which points also are substantially conceded by the majority. He deprecates the sale of councils for trade purposes as it is this procedure alone which has produced the present currency crisis. The committee in fact concede this when they trace the causes of this use in exchange and they also say that for some time to come Government may not sell councils in excess of the requirements for home charges. But while Mr. Dalal would prevent this system once for all, the committee would like to resume it as soon as the present difficulties of silver coinage are over. Mr. Dalal's censure of this policy and the principle underlying the same are cogent enough and are to be found in paragraph 46 of his report. He is right when he says that by this policy of council bills the Government of India are diverting payments to India from gold to silver, that they purposely avoid paying in gold to this country. This is no doubt the fact and his strictures of this policy need good support from the people.

The process of reverse councils also does the same.

As for recommendations for meeting the requirements of trade, Mr. Dalal rightly suggests that trade adjustment should be left to private individuals and that it is not the business of the State to accommodate it. The majority report however shows considerable anxiety for the traders, of course the foreign traders. The policy of council bills is meant only for the convenience of traders leaving alone the legitimate object of home-charges. The underlying object of this policy is rightly judged by Mr. Dalal as given above.

These proposals are supposed to ensure sound monetary circulation in the country.

As for the effects of the rise in exchange the committee seem to concede, if we read between the lines, the position of Mr. Dalal, which is that this would cause a loss to the country looking at it if we do from all standpoints. Consumers and foreign traders may gain, but exporters and manufacturers will lose in this scheme, even consumers may gain at the cost of Indian industries which again is an evil. The idea underlying the report would seem to look to the convenience of the Government, and British traders rather than the people and the Indian traders.

These are some of the salient features of both the reports; enough unto the day is the discussion thereof; further discussion should be resumed, one should think, after further thinking.

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Glimpses of Domestic Life in Mediaeval Bengal.

By Mr. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

IN the absence of specially written works describing the manners and customs, the domestic and communal life, of a past age, of times gone by long ago, we have to fall back upon old writings, whether manuscripts or books, for our information about the foregoing subjects. So far as the knowledge of the present writer goes, there does not appear to be any old manuscript extant which has for its subject the description of the manners and customs, the domestic and communal life, of Mediæval Bengal, that is to say, of Bengal as it was about 150 years ago. We have, therefore, to search for any other older work which deals with the foregoing matters only incidentally. Fortunately for ourselves, we have not to go far afield in our search for such a work. An old copy dated 1227 B. S. (corresponding to *circ.* 1820 A. D.) of a still older manuscript of the *Brihat padma Purana* has been recently brought to light. The original manuscript, from which it has been copied out, is tentatively supposed to be about 150 years old, that is to say, to have been composed about the end of the seventeenth century A. D.

This old work, which bears the title of *Brihat Padma Purana*, was composed by a Mediæval Bengali poet named Narayana Deva with the collaboration of ten other colleagues whose names are (1) Chandrapati, (2) Bamsidasa, (3) Jagannatha (by caste Vaidya) and Jagannatha (by caste Brahmana), (4) Balarama, (5) Janakinatha, (6) Jayarama, (7) Haridatta, (8) Viswanatha, (9) Hridaya, and (10) Gunakara. All these poets were natives of Eastern Bengal. For abbreviations' sake, we shall call this work simply *Padma Purana* in the course of this article.

This manuscript is divided into two parts. The first part gives accounts of the Creation of the Universe, the Churning of the Ocean, the carrying off of the Ambrosia by the Bird Garuda, the Battle of the Elephants and the Tortoises, the Marriage of the Deity Siva, the Birth of the Gods Karttika and Ganesa, the slaying of the Demon Taraka, and so forth.

The second part describes how the snake-goddess Padma or Manasa went to partake of the offerings of worship in the house of Raja Chando, the son of Raja Kotiswara, who was the son of Raja Dhananjaya. After her arrival there, Raja Chando, at the instigation of the goddess Chandi, struck the snake-goddess with a rod of the *hentala* tree and thereby broke her waist. Greatly enraged at this scurvy treatment, she went to Siva and complained to him about it. His deityship instructed her to punish Raja Chando by biting his sons to death. Accordingly she stung six of the latter's sons to death.

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Thereafter Sonaka, the wife of Raja Chando, gave birth to a son named Aniruddha who, when grown up, was married to a princess named Usha. (Here the narrative abruptly changes in the manuscript.)

Thereafter it is described how Behula, while bathing in a tank named Muktasara, somehow or other sprinkled several drops of the water wherein she had bathed upon the person of the snake-goddess Padma who had, by the exercise of her magical power, rendered herself invisible and lain concealed there. Being angered thereby, her deityship threatened to punish her by stinging her husband Lakhai to death. Then the manuscript goes on to describe how Lakhai was bitten by a snake to death on his wedding night, while he was sleeping in a chamber made of iron; how his widow Behula restored him to life; how Raja Chando worshipped the snake-goddess Padma with his left hand; and so forth.

Interspersed in the course of the foregoing narratives are passages which throw a good deal of light on the domestic life of Mediæval Bengal, in other words, on the state of the art of cookery, the kinds of viands which were mostly esteemed by the people of Mediæval Bengal, the mode of cooking them, and the etiquette of serving the cooked articles of food and of partaking of the same. Take, for instance, the following passage of the *Padma Purana* which enlightens us about the kinds of cooked viands which were greatly in favour with the people of Mediæval Bengal.

१. एक मुखे जाल (ज्वाल) दये पञ्चमुखे जले (ज्वले)।
२. पञ्च पातौल चड़ाइया तैलघृत ढाले॥
३. भाराति (?) भाजयै कन्या बाङ्गन (बेगुण) बारमासि।
४. बेतसागा भुनिलेक उदिश (उच्छे) उर्व्वशी (?)॥
५. पाटसागा भूनिलेक थोड़ विस्तर।
६. पुनर्व्वा भूनिलेक घृतेर ऊपर॥
७. ससिकुमड़ा ववे, आनाज (तरकारी) काटी बाइ (?)।
८. किञ्चित् पिठालि (चालवाटा) दिल दोशरे नाइ॥
९. पोरलतार गोटा (पटोल) भाजे पोरलतार आगा।
१०. मध्ये मध्ये दिल तार धन्ये गोटा गोटा॥
११. आदा म्दला काठालेर विचि भाजिल सिङ्गाड़ि (पानिफल)।
१२. दुग्धेर सर तोले आर मुग मुशरि॥
१३. कासन्द दिया रान्धिलेक जालि (कचि) कुमड़ा।
१४. सज (मशलार भावना) वास दिया रान्धे धेञ्जन लावड़ा॥
१५. जिरामरिच सज घाटे परिपाटि।
१६. चिनि दिया रान्धिलेक मझोआ आलु काटि॥
१७. कालाइ दाइल गोमेर आटा सिंइ जातिफल।

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१८. खण्ड दिया रान्धिलेक मिष्ट सकल ॥
१९. मुशरिर दाइल रान्दे तिल मुग दिया ॥
२०. परमान्व पीठा तवे रान्दये सुन्दरी ॥
२१. कलये कलये दुग्ध घनाव्रत करि ।
२२. रशवास खिल नाथे मरिचेर गुड़ि ॥
२३. पनसेर हालि भाजे घूतेर उपर ।
२४. महाशौल दिया तवे रान्दिल मरिच ॥

TRANSLATION.

(I)

1 and 2. She blew with her mouth the fire which blazed (brightly) and having placed five earthenware pots (upon the blazing hearth), poured oil and clarified butter into them.

3 and 4. (Then) she fried (therein) *bharani* (perhaps the name of some kind of green vegetable), brinjals (of that variety) which is produced all the year round, the tender young shoots of the rattan (*calamus rotang*), and the *uchchhe* or the fruits of the *Momordica muricata*.

5 and 6. (Then) she fried the tender young leaves of the jute-plant and a large quantity of the *thoda* or the edible inflorescence of the plantain-tree, and (then) fried *punarnava* (a kind of *sag* or country green) in the clarified butter.

7 and 8. (Then she) sliced cucumbers, sweet pumpkins, and (other kinds of) vegetables, (and cooked them) with rice-paste, (which mode of cooking made them) of unrivalled flavour.

9 and 10. (Then) she fried *parvar or patols* (the fruits of the *Trichesanthes dioica*), and the tender young stalks thereof with (a seasoning of) coriander-seeds kept whole.

11. (Then) she fried (sliced) ginger, radishes, the pips of the jack-fruit, and the water-chestnut (*Trapa bispinosa.*)

12. (Then) she skimmed the layers of clotted cream from off the surface of boiled milk, and (cooked the two kinds of pulse called) *muga* (*Phaseolus mungo*) and *masur* (*Ervum lens.*)

13. (Then) she cooked (slices of) tender young white gourds (*Benicasa cerifera*) with the condiment called *kasanda* (which is made of sliced green mangoes, mustard-paste, oil, and other spices.)

14 and 15. (Then) she cooked the curry of *labadas* (or balls made of pulses ground into pastes) in a steam of spices and with black-pepper-and-cummin ground into a paste.

16. (Then) she stewed slices of sweet potato (in a syrup of) sugar.

17 and 18. (Then) she prepared various kinds of sweetstuffs with the pulse (called) *kalai* (*Phaseolus radiatus*), wheaten flour, and slices of the nutmegs of Ceylon.

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19. (Then) she cooked the pulse called *masuri* (*Ervum lens*) with sesame and grains of the *muga* pulse (*Phaseolus mungo.*)

20. Then the lady prepared frumenty and cakes.

21 and 22. (Then) she thickened jarfuls of milk (into cream) and seasoned the same with ground black pepper.

23. (Then) she fried the kernel of jack-fruits in clarified butter.

24. (Then) she cooked hot bonillon of (the fish called) *mahseer.*

Another mediæval Bengali poet named Ramabhadra, who flourished in the district of Bardwan about two hundred years ago and composed a poem entitled सत्यपीरेर पांचाली or "*The Legend of the Ceremonial Worship of the Musalman Saint Satyapir,*" has mentioned therein the following kinds of sweetstuffs which were eaten in Mediæval Bengal :—

(२)

१. भाङ्गिया सहस वर्ण मिष्टान्न करिया पुर्ण,
२. सत्यपीर पुजे सन्ध्याकाले ।
३. जिलापी मिठाइ फेणी, मिछरी नवात चिनि,
४. कन्दु मोण्डा नाड़ु गङ्गा जले ।
५. कदमा वंदिषा पेरा नारिकेल जोड़ा जड़ा,
६. आर रम्भा सुखादु पनसे ।
७. सर्व्व द्रव्य सभोया भागे आटा दुग्ध चिनि आगे,
८. ताम्बुल प्रदान अवशेषे ।

TRANSLATION.

(II)

1 and 2. Filling up (the trays with the undermentioned) sweetmeats of one thousands hues, (the worshipper) worshipped (the Musalman saint) Satyapir in the evening :—

3, 4, 5 and 6. *Jilapis, mithais, pheni-batasas* (a kind of large-sized sugar-wafers), sugar candy, *nabatas* (a kind of sweet stuff moulded out of pure sugar), sugar, *kandus, mondas* or *sandeses* and *nadus* (of the color of) the Ganges-water, *kadmas* (or sugar-balls), *Bandiyas* (or small pellet-like sweatmeats) *peras* (or sweetmeats made of thickened milk and sugar), cocoanuts by pairs, and (ripe) plantains (steeped) in delicious frumenty.

7 and 8. Quantities (measuring) one and one-fourth (in weight) of all the (aforementioned) articles (were offered up); *ata* (a kind of coarse flour), milk and sugar (were placed) in the fore-front (of all the *puja*-offerings) ; (and) betel-leaves were offered up at the finale (of the ceremony).

All the sweet stuffs, mentioned in the foregoing passage (No. II), are still in use in modern Bengal, and bear the same names as those given to them two hundred years ago.

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From the foregoing passage (No. I) we find that the people of Mediæval Bengal liked vegetable dishes most. Among the vegetables mentioned above, is the *thoda* (the *mocha* of Western Bengal) or the inflorescence of the plantain-tree which was eaten fried in those remote times—a practice which has now fallen into desuetude, far, in modern Bengal, it is cooked into a sweetish curry which is highly esteemed. Fried water-chestnuts, jack-fruit pips, and ginger are also among the curiosities of ancient Bengali cookery.

The extracts (No. I) given above also show that the mediæval Bengali loved *sags* or country-greens a good deal—a liking which has been inherited by his latter-day descendants—the modern Bengalis. Among the greens mentioned in the foregoing text are two curious ones, namely, the tender young shoots of the climbing rattan-palm and of the jute-plant, both of which are no longer used as enlivary vegetables in Bengal at the present day.

Among the curious modes of cookery which were prevalent in Mediæval Bengal, but have now fallen into desuetude are the cooking of slices of the white gourd with the condiment called *kāsanda*, the stewing of sliced sweet potatoes in the syrup of sugar, the seasoning of thickened milk with ground black pepper, and the frying of the kernel of jack-fruits in clarified butter.

The total omission of the mention of meat-dishes from this interesting account of ancient Bengali cookery is very remarkable. It shows that the Bengalis of the olden times were mostly vegetarians. Except for the hot bouillon of the *māhseer* fish mentioned in the last line of the foregoing passage, no other fish-curry is mentioned in the aforementioned list. This omission of fish-dishes is somewhat curious, considering the fact that various kinds of fishes of delicious taste are plentiful in the rivers and tanks of Bengal and easily procurable.

Then comes the etiquette of serving of the cooked viands and of partaking of the same, as it was in vogue in the olden times in Bengal. We have a very interesting account of this etiquette—this code of what may be called ancient Bengali "table-manners"—in the undermentioned passage of the *Padma Purāna* :—

भोजनेर नियम ।

१. चन्दोर बचने तेड़ा (भृत्य) चलिल सचर ।
२. जने जने थाल (गाड़ु) झारि दिल गोचर ॥
३. गामारिर पिड़ित बैशे चम्पकेर नाथ ।
४. जेष्ट कनेष्ठ बुझि आनि दिल भात ॥
५. तिक्त कासन्द तवे तारे आनि दिल ।
६. श्रीविष्णु बलिया साधु गण्डष करिल ।
७. प्रथमे आनिया दिल तेलील (?) अष्टदष ।

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८. भोजन करि सदागर पाय बड़ रष ।
९. तार शेषे आनि दिल सुखत पांच सात ।
१०. किछु किछु खाइया शोमाइ पाखालिल हात ॥
११. तार शेषे आनि दिल मरिच अछु दष ।
१२. तार शेषे आनि दिल अम्बलता पांच सात ॥
१३. किछु किछु खाइया शोभाइ पाखलिल हात ।
१४. तार शेषे आनि दिल पञ्च वर्णेर पीठा ।
१५. दधि दुग्ध चिनी गुड़ आर सब मिठा ।
१६. मरिच अष्टदश खाय आयुन पञ्चसात ।

TRANSLATION.

(III)

Etiquette for (serving) and Dining.

1. At Chandor's order the servant went hastily.

2. (Thereafter) servants (lit., men) appeared with metal platters and ewers.

3. (Then) the Lord of Champaka seated himself on a seat made of *gāmāri* wood.

4. (Thereafter) both old and young (servers) brought in boiled rice.

5. And then served him with hot *kāsanda*.

6. (Then) the *sādhu* muttered (to himself the name of) the deity Vishnu and sipped the preliminary sip of water.

7 & 8. First of all, (the servers) brought 18 kinds of *tahla* (or appetisers), by partaking of which the merchant was very much pleased.

9 & 10. When these had been eaten, (the servers) brought 5 or 7 kinds of *sukhta* (or bitter curries of each of which) Somai (the merchant partook a little and (then) washed (his) hands.

11. After these had been partaken of, (the servers) brought (the condiment made of) 18 chillis.

12 & 13. When this had been eaten, (the servers) brought 5 or 7 kinds of *ambala* (or acid curries, of each of which) Somai (the merchant) took a little and (then) washed (his) hands.

14 & 15. When these had been partaken of, (the servers) brought 5 kinds of *pithā* or cakes, curdled milk, (thickened) milk, sugar, molasses, and various kinds of sweet-stuffs.

(The 16th line appears to be redundant and has not, therefore, been translated).

From the lines 9 to 15 of the foregoing extract, (No. III), we find that the order in which the various kinds of cooked viands were served up to the diners in Mediæval Bengal was as follows :—Firstly, the *sukta*s or the curries into the composition of which vegetables or ingredients of bitterish taste have entered, were served up. Then came the curry of hot or acrid flavour which was called in Mediæval Bengal

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as the *ashtadasa marich* or the condiment made of 18 chillis. We think that this hot curry is still in use and highly esteemed in Eastern Bengal where the *Padma Purana* was composed, and where the use of large quantities of chillis or cayenne pepper in the cooking of curries is still prevalent. Then the acid curries were served up. Last of all, the course of sweet stuffs and various preparations of milk was set before the diners. This order of serving up the cooled viands is still in vogue, even at the present day in the two Bengals.

The 10th and 13th lines of the preceding passage disclose to us a curious practice which appears to have been prevalent in the olden times in Bengal, but has now fallen into desuetude there. It is the practice of the diner's washing his hand or rather the fingers after partaking of each different course of curries with water poured out of the *jharis* or ewers (mentioned in the 2nd line of the preceding extract). Whereas the practice, in modern Bengal, is to wash the hand once for all after the whole meal, including all the courses, has been partaken of.

We learn from the 3rd line of the foregoing extract that, in Mediæval Bengal, the diner used to seat himself, while sitting at meals, on an oblong piece of wooden board which was called *pida*. Curiously enough, this practice still survives in rural Bengal, though, in the towns, the place of the *pida* has been taken at the present day by *asans* or square pieces of carpet or *darries*.

Although the *Padma Purana* does not throw any light on the style of dressing in vogue in Mediæval Bengal, it mentions the names of the undernoted kinds of clothing which appear to have been in use then :—

खुञाओा भूटी, भुणि गङ्गाजल, धोकड़ा, दापुती.

The first kind **खुञाओा भूटी** appears to have been a kind of coarse fabric woven of flaxen fibres. The first portion of this name appears to be a modification of the word **खुञा** which was applied in Bengal in the 16th century A. D. to coarse stuffs made of the fibres of flax. The Mediæval Bengali poet Kabikankana, who flourished in Western Bengal, mentions the name of **खुञा** as a sort of coarse, fabric, as will appear from the fact that, in those olden times, a rich lady was punished by her being compelled to put on *khuna* instead of her silk *sari*. Another Mediæval Bengali poet named *Bansidasa*, who lived in Eastern Bengal, makes mention of *khuna* along with the names of several other kinds of coarse and thick stuffs such as *chota* (**चट**) which was made of the fibres of *sana* or Indian hemp (*Crotalaria juncea*). A kind of *chata* named **चट भूटी** (*chata bhuti*) appears to have been in use in Mediæval Bengal during the period when the *Padma Purana* was composed as will appear from the following passage of the last mentioned work :—

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(४)

हल्दि वदले पाइलु काचा सोणा जाति ।
एक नालिया पाते पाइलाम सोणा तेर रति ॥
खासा नेत पाइलाम दिया शोनेर धोकड़ा ।
एक मोन रसुने पाइल आसिमण कड़ि ॥
चटभूटी वदले पाइलु साड़ि आर पड़ी ।

TRANSLATION.

(IV).

1. In exchange for turmeric, I obtained unmolten gold of (several) kinds.

2. In exchange for one (?) tender leaf of the jute-plant, I obtained 13 *ratis* of gold.

3. By giving *dhokada* (made of the fibres) of *sana* or hemp, I got the excellent (fabric called) *neta*.

4. (In exchange for) one maund of garlic, (I) got eighty maunds of cowri-shells.

5. In exchange for *bhotiya chata*, I got *sadi* and *padi*.

[It may be noted here that the above passage clearly shows that the system of trading by barter or exchange was prevalent in Mediæval Bengal, though the rates of exchange mentioned therein appear to be highly exaggerated.]

The *chata bhuti* or *bhotiya chata* appears to have been a superior kind of *chata* or fabric made of hempen fibres. The *dhokada* also appears to have been a kind of stuff made of the same material. The fabric called *sadi* has survived to the present day. But we cannot make out what *padi* is. Most likely it is another kind of woven stuff. The fabric called नेत (*neta*) is also mentioned in the following list of the articles of dowry which is given in the *Padma Purana* :—

(५)

१. साहा राजा नत वस्तु उत्सर्गे विस्तर ।
२. विस्वर महिशा देय भालुक वानर ॥
३. नेत कुतरा दिल पाटेर पाछड़ा ।

TRANSLATION.

(V).

1. The Saha Raja gave away many articles as dowry.

2. He gave away many buffaloes, bears and monkeys.

3. He gave *kutara* (? *kurta* or shirt) made of (the fabric called) *neta* and *pachhada* made of jute.

The *neta* or *net* is a contraction of the fuller name *netra-patta* and implies a fine fabric manufactured with filature-reeled silk. It is, so to speak, a sort of silk muslin.

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This silk-muslin appears to have been worn, in Mediæval Bengal, as a *sadi* with the ends or *anchals* thereof embroidered, as will appear from the following passages from another Mediæval Bengali poet named Srikaviballabha :—

(६)

१. नेवेर आचले देखे अपुर्व्व लिखन ।
२. प्राणनाथेर परिचय आचले पाइया ।
३. जतन करिया तारे राखिल वान्धिया । *

TRANSLATION.

(VI).

1. She found a wonderful letter (lit., writing) in the *anchal* or the embroidered end of her *neta* (or *sadi* made of the fabric called *neta*).

2 and 3. Finding the letter (lit., news) of her husband in (her) *anchal*, she carefully kept it tied up.

This fine silken fabric survives to the present day in Bengal under the name of "*hawai*" or "*woven air*"—a name which alludes to the gossamer-like texture thereof.

Pachhada (पाछड़ा) appears to have been a fabric made of jute—something like the jute-shirting of the present day. We cannot make out what kinds of fabrics भुणि गङ्गाजल (*bhuni gangajala*) and दापुली (*dapuli*) were.

From the list of the articles of dowry quoted above, we learn that many buffaloes, bears and monkeys were given away as gifts. We cannot make out for what earthly purpose these presents were donated unless it be as zoological curiosities for keeping in menageries. This practice seems to have been of widespread prevalence, for such zoological specimens used to be presented in Mediæval Bengal by hosts to their kinsmen-guests at the time of the latter's departure from their houses, as will appear from the following extract from the aforementioned manuscript of the *Padma Purana* :—

(७)

१. आसिवार काले व्यवहार पाइलाम विस्तर
२. मणिमय हार पाइलु केयुर सुन्दर
३. सफरिया नाना वस्तु भालुंक वानर

TRANSLATION.

(VII.)

1. At the time of departing (from my host's house), I received many articles of present.

2. I received a necklace set with gems and a beautiful armlet.

* *Vide* Srikaviballabha's *Satyanarayaner Puthi* (*Bangiya Sahitya Parishad's* edition of 1322 B. S.), page 22.

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3. (As also) various articles fit for use on journeys, (and also) bears and monkeys.

There is evidence in this manuscript of the *Padma Purana* to show that, at the time of its composition, grains and other articles of merchandise used to be bought and sold by exchange or barter and by the measures known as *buḍi* (बुड़ि) *pana* (पणा) and *kahana* (काहण) The only currency used in those remote times was the cowrie shell (*Cypræd moneta*). This is also borne out by the following extract from another Mediæval Bengali poet named Srikaviballabha :—

(८)

१. कव से वेइमान वान्या वाव् कहु तोरे
२. असिव राजार वादि विष किनिवारे
३. कड़ि लय्या विष जदि वादियाय दिव
४. महाराजा कालि तेरा सवंशे मारिवे *

TRANSLATION.

(VIII).

1. O dishonest baniya ! listen to what I am telling you.

2. The king's maid-servant will come to purchase poison.

3. If you will sell (lit., give) poison to the maid-servant by taking cowries (from her).

4. The king will kill you and your whole family to-morrow.

These small white shells have been from the remoted antiquity, used as the currency of Southern Asia, more particularly in China. Their use as money is mentioned by Mas'udi (943 A. D.), by Marco Polo, and by many other writers. Though they are still employed as currency in the rural parts of this country, they are fast going out of use from India. A rupee worth of cowrie numbers 6144 shells. They are still used for adorning horses, cattle, &c., with. †

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* *Vide* Srikaviballabha's *Satynarayaner Puthi (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad's* Edition of 1322 B. S.), page 40.

† The passages of the *Brihat Padma Purana* whereof the Devanagari transcripts and the English translations have been given in this article have been published in Bengali script at pages 25 to 45 of Vol. XIII (for 1313 B. S.) of the *Bangiya—Sahitya—Parishat—Patrika* (Calcutta).

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The Dashavatar and land marks in the evolution of man.

By Professor H. L. KAJI, M. A., B.Sc

WHAT is Hinduism? It is almost impossible to define the term and very difficult to expound its connotation. Every one probably considers it to be self-explanatory and believes he understands it quite well; but when he is called upon to make it clear, he finds himself landed in difficulties. The term Hinduism includes a complex congeries of creeds and doctrines. It shelters within its portals monotheists, polytheists and pantheists; worshippers of the great gods Shiva and Vishnu or of their female counterparts, as well as the worshippers of the divine mothers, of the spirits of trees, rocks and streams and of the tutelary village deities. The reason for this complexity and heterogeneity is probably to be found in the fact that Hinduism is not only a creed but is also a philosophy, a code of morals, hygiene and sanitation, a treatise of science, law and in fact an encyclopaedia of every department of knowledge. When thus precepts promulgated in the name of religion are interwoven so minutely with the daily life and work of the people, differences of interpretation are bound to arise after the lapse of ages, the environment having meanwhile materially changed. Despite the complexity, however, there are some beliefs which every one calling himself a Hindu holds as a part of his religion. One of the chief of such beliefs is that in the Dashavatar, the ten incarnations. It is believed that the great god Vishnu came down to the earth quite a number of times but on nine of these occasions he performed, and on the tenth which is yet to come he will perform, great deeds.

Religion is based on faith and admits indeed of no scientific scrutiny, no criticism, no rational explanation. As such, astounding as it seems, the Hindus have as great a right to believe in incarnations as the Mahomedans, Christians, Jews and others have to believe in the miracles and missions of their prophets and saviours. But it is a hard task to believe in things the like of which the votaries of no other of the great creeds believe in. Christianity for example does not hold up Christ as God Himself but as His Son; Islam does not regard Mahomed as God Incarnate but as His prophet; it is only Hinduism which believes Rama, Krishna and others to be the Great God Himself taking birth on our planet like us, frail mortals. Assuming however that the analogy of other creeds is not a bar to the Hindu belief, it is clear that there must needs be a great purpose behind an incarnation. It can not surely be fun. The Almighty cannot surely have tired of the glorious heaven and taken to playing the mortal for a while as a diversion! There is of course a purpose, it is asserted; He takes birth periodically to purge the earth of accumulated evil, put down oppression, destroy the Rakshasas, in short to right the right. Need such a purpose entail His assuming the mortal coil? It may be said perhaps that when Rakshasas rage triumphant, there is no other alternative; but such an argument denies the omnipotence of the Omnipotent, limits the might of the Almighty. Has He no other resource? Are His resources limited? It is true that when a human being finds his wishes disregarded by others, his agent disobeyed and overpowered, he finally betakes himself to the scene of action and assumes command. Really with our human limitations, we are too often led to think of the Almighty as if He was the most powerful, the most wise, the most handsome, the most just, the most merciful, the most everything,

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the greatest expert on land, water and air, propitiated by flatteries in the shape of prayers, by bribes in shape of sacrifice, by promises in the shape of vows, and enraged by a breach of contract in the shape of broken vows, as if in fact He had all the human attributes in the superlative, and was the Perfect man, the superman but withal a Man. What God is like it is futile to conjecture. He is simply beyond our ken. Better accept the fact as it is than try to solve the insoluble and to bring Him down to the limited level of humanity. The ways of providence are inscrutable and one need not hence believe Him driven to the last resource of assuming the offensive in person in mortal shape against the Rakshasas. He could certainly destroy them by a flash of lightening, as well by bodily casting them into Hades as by bodily casting Himself to our little planet, as well by their ascending to Heaven by reform induced by His inspiration as by His descending to the earth to perform deeds by perspiration, as well—but we need not pursue any further what He could do in such a case inasmuch as being human, we too can only imagine what a superman can do.

Even if we accept the mission, it passes understanding why He did not accomplish it more speedily and easily, why He had to be born of woman, grow up into manhood, suffer hardships and die like anyone of us. Why for example had Rama the seventh of the great incarnations to wait till he attained manhood to effect his main purpose of destroying Ravana? Why need he win a bride for himself, why need he be driven into exile, seek justification for the destruction of Ravana by allowing him to abduct his own wife, institute a close search to trace the infamous abductor, form alliance with the princes of Southern India, collect a large army for the invasion of Ceylon, build a bridge across to Ceylon and not leap across the straits as even one of his own Lieutenants Hanuman could do, undergo the horrors of war, doubt Sita's chastity when she was recovered, abandon her on the breath of a suspicion against her? There is no need to labour this point any further. It has to be admitted that Rama acted at any rate just like a man. It may however be argued that this was so done to hold up an ideal for man to follow, and to show by his life and conduct what filial duty, fraternal affection, faithfulness to wife, skill in warfare, government of the people for the people, really were, and that he acted in fact as a Model Man of the age. If then this was so, where is the proof that he was really God incarnate? What evidence is there to show that he was verily an Avatar? Are there any miracles or episodes in his career which can not be explained but by believing in his divine origin?

Difficulties like these are met in this age of reason by regarding the Avatars simply as great heroes who existed at some remote period either actually or the fancies of the poets. Even thus however the situation does not become clear inasmuch as this explanation does not cover all the nine great Avatars. It throws no light on why there should have been among them, a fish, a turtle, a boar, a lion, and why the characteristics and adventures of each Avatar should have been radically different.

If we are not to believe then that the stories of the Avatars are merely fairy tales, albeit amusing and instructive, we must go behind and penetrate the meaning. The scriptures offer a fund of information, it is true; but when the poet takes charge, vivid imagination replaces accuracy and the pearl of truth is so well concealed in the shell of fascinating and interesting story that one has no desire left to break open the shell and peep inside. But unless the shell

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is pierced, the truth stands revealed. The avatars represent nothing but the land marks in the evolution of life forms, recording the geographical changes during the various geological ages and the progress of Man and Society since Man first came into being. The geological and ethnographical knowledge of the Ancient Aryans stands revealed in these interesting stories of the Dashavatar and strikingly agrees with our present knowledge based on modern research.

The Matsya Avatar and the Age of Fishes.

In rocks of the earliest of the Geological ages, the Archaean, no fossils have been found and it is difficult to imagine what the Earth's surface looked like at that time. The Palaeozoic rocks are fossilliferous and the fossils represent all the chief types of animal life from the simple cell colonies of the graptolites to highly developed reptiles and amphibians. The great river plains of northern India, the later home of early Aryans, were at this period not evolved and lay at the bottom of a great sea. We see a long procession of life forms—everchanging, developing in various ways; no two the same. Strange beetle like creatures, curious stalked and jointed plant-animals, fantastically whored shells. In the early period of this age, the Cambrian, the Ordovician and the Silurian, there is a gradual evolution of creatures that crawled or grew on the bottom of the sea. It is true that in the last appear the first backboned animals—the earliest fishes and insects—but it is the Devonian period which is called the Age of Fishes. The Fish represents a distinct advance in structure over the animal forms of the earlier period and well constitutes a land mark in the evolution of man. The Aryans instead of designating this period as the Age of Fishes have chosen to poetically call it the Matsya Avatar (the Fish Incarnation). The incidents and achievements of this Avatar merely describe the conditions of life that prevailed in that age as imagined by the poet-scientist. The fish was the highest type of life form so far evolved and as the inferior forms still remained, it might well be called an incarnation of God.

The Kurma Avatar and the Amphibians.

The seas and lakes of the Devonian period swarmed with gigantic fishes, some toothed and armour plated, some covered with scales, others having both gills and lungs. From the last were probably developed the Amphibians, in which lungs have displaced gills altogether and fins have become stumpy web-footed legs. It was towards the end of the Permo—Carboniferous or the Gondwana Age that we find the Indo-African continent gradually vanishing and the Rajputana sea along with the Tethys, the great central Asian Ocean, receding and shrinking. Islands begin to make their appearance and the change from water to water and land is accompanied by the appearance of new fish forms and animal types and the birth of Amphibians. Here, then, is a further stage in the evolution of animals—the Age of Amphibians, distinguished by the Aryans as the Kurma Avatar or the Turtle Incarnation.

The Varaha Avatar and Land Animals.

The Mesozoic strata unfold to us new and wonderful forms of life which develop under conditions totally different from those of the Palaeozoic era. The creatures of the ancient era are supplanted by higher types. Giant reptiles swarm in the sea, in the air and over the land. Birds appear and so do the first mammals. The Jurassic or the middle period was the age of Reptiles, which does not seem to have been recognised by the Aryans as sufficiently

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distinctive to be commemorated as an Avatar. Thereafter great changes took place in India; the peninsular part hitherto connected with South Eastern Africa was now linked with the Northern by the uplift of the low flat plains and in the Miocene period in the Kainozoic Age were uplifted the giant Himalayas. The definite emergence of dry land in the home of the Aryans where naturally their geological studies must have been pursued, meant the appearance of new types of animals who could live on land only. Reptiles have almost disappeared; mammals have taken their place. The boar represented the highest type and was elevated into the Varaha Avatar. The story that the God Vishnu in the shape of the boar destroyed the demon Hiranyaksha and recovering the globe of the earth from the ocean whither it had been carried away by the Rakshasa, brought it out on his tusks, clearly suggests the receding of the Rajputana sea, the uplift of land and with it the evolution of land animals.

The Narsinha Avatar and the Highest Development of Beast.

At first the mammals were more like kangaroos—marsupials; then the higher and more familiar forms were developed—the horse, the elephant and the lion. The lion represents practically the last word among beasts. Animals superior to the lion there may be, in size, strength, sagacity, agility or swiftness of foot, but none in all these combined in a high degree. The combination of energy, valour and strength, with a certain nobility of nature, places it head and shoulders above the other animals; and these and its semi-human countenance bring the king of beasts very near the level of humanity. It is easily intelligible, therefore, to regard the evolution of this type, the lion, as an Avatar, the Narsinha, the man-lion, half man, half beast.

The Waman Avatar and the Coming of Man.

The last period of the Tertiary times witnessed the appearance of a new type of being. Life had by now advanced through wonderful changes, slowly but surely evolving higher and yet higher types until there appeared the highest form of all, Man. Here then ends the story of the earth's childhood; the story of its youth and prime follows in the Waman and subsequent Avatars. The early man was ill-formed and a dwarf, but little removed from the beast. One great quality however distinguished him from the lower creatures: he had reason. He may be and was physically less strong, but was mentally far superior in that he could hit upon strategems, devise ways and means to trick his powerful adversaries, the hippopotamus, rhinoceros, tiger and hyena. He could not perhaps face his foe in a trial of strength, but could certainly outgeneral him in a trial of skill. This new characteristic of animal life is perhaps emphasized in the story of the Waman Avatar. Waman, a dwarf brahmin, a typical creature, weak in body but strong in skill, overthrows King Bali, the strong, a representative of brute force, not in a fight where strength or energy counts, but beats him by cheating him. Being asked by King Bali on the occasion of a sacrifice to name a boon, Waman asked for as much land as he could cover in three of his paces. Bali consenting, Waman, the great Vishnu in disguise, assumed gigantic proportions and covered the heavens and the earth in two steps and Bali had to offer his head itself for the third. The boon was granted to the dwarf and the dwarf had evidently no business to transform himself into a giant. But the story merely illustrated the rise of a new factor in the conquest and control of the world. The leadership of the world would go henceforth to him who could, if necessary, outwit his antagonists. For more than this there is no place in heaven or earth

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but only in *pātal*, the antipodes of man's habitation, whither Bali was pressed down by the third step of Waman. The Waman Avatar thus commemorates a great landmark, the birth of Man and of Reason.

Parshuram and the spirit of Association.

Man now considers himself lord of creation. In those early days, perhaps five lakhs years ago, he seems to have been a wretched slave of his surroundings. His wretchedness lay chiefly in his many dangers; his enemies were wild beasts, such as we with all our weapons still fear and avoid. The earliest men were hunters, they hunted for fruits, seeds, roots; they pursued animals, fish, insects. Many primitive people still live like this. Such a life admits of but little progress and man thinks only of the immediate present, not even of the morrow. He probably needed no clothing and wore none. A chance cave or hollow or a leafy tree was his shelter and protection. Self-preservation was the predominant idea and every thing centred round it. He thus developed into a destructive being, destroying by strength or skill or both, the animals who furnished him with food, the animals who were a positive danger to his safety as also the men who tried to snatch from him the food he had laboriously gathered or who perhaps tried to make a meal of him. There would be no feeling of humanity, brotherhood or sociableness, in those times when man thus lived and slept with Death next door. It is no wonder then if he became a malicious, crafty, fierce, destructive animal. But when this goes on for a long time, a new tendency gradually arises; a new desire to live at peace rather than be at perpetual war with his fellow beings comes into existence. Man is evidently more able to protect himself from the beast and he learns the lesson of mutual help. He discovers that association conduces more to safety than isolation; joint action and co ordinated effort are far more potent than individual struggles against the forces arrayed against him. The new force thus impels him, before engaging in constructive work, to destroy the destructive tendencies hitherto predominant. As the later Aryan terminology assigned the work of destruction of enemies to the class of Kshatriyas, the new stage may be fitly called the anti-Kshatriya spirit. This then was the mission of Parshuram, the sixth avatar, which seems much the same as that of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table, to clear the beast ridden land and to humanize man. Incidently, we also mark with Parshuram the advent of the metal age in India from his weapon, the *barchhi*.

Rama and the Formation of Society and the State.

With the accomplishment of Parshuram's mission, man is prepared to form social groups, each inhabitating a distinct area and forming villages and towns. Isolation then as now was however better for contemplation and the advancement of learning and we accordingly find sages, the great *rishis* and *munis* staying with their pupils in *ashramas* on river sides or in forests. The story of Rama's achievements is well known all the world over, having been embodied in the world famous epic, the Ramayana of Valmiki. The age of Rama to some extent overlaps the age of Prashurama; the two Avatars are represented to have co-existed for a time. This is quite intelligible since the spirit of association once evolved, society and the state soon follow. Here first we hear of practically a city state governed by a military class of Kshatriyas assisted by ministers drawn from the aristocracy of learning, the Brahmins. The weapon of the age was the bow. One of the chief duties of the king and his sons was to protect the Brahmin rishis who were obstructed in the performance of

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duties by the Rakshasas. The latter class is certainly not to be taken to mean the Demons or Monsters but rather beings in the lower stage of civilization, the enemies of progress, advocates of might, while the rishis stood for progress and civilization. This duty of protection led incidently to proficiency in the use of the bow. Rama exhibits the skill so obtained at Janaka's court and wins the fair Sita. He is soon the idol of the people and the old king resolves to place on his shoulders the burden of government. But on the eve of the coronation he is exiled to the forests for a period of fourteen years to the great sorrow of the people. He is accompanied in his exile by his loving wife and faithful half-brother Laxman; the trio after wanderings in forests establish themselves on the banks of the Godaveri near Nasik. All this reveals a very primitive type of society. Public opinion counts a great deal in a city state and Bharat, the son of Dasharath by Kekayie, for whom the mother obtained Rama's banishment, probably finding it impracticable to displace the popular hero, went with a representative deputation of ministers and citizens to implore Rama to return to Ayodha and assume the reins of government, King Dasharath having in the meantime died of a broken heart. It is only when Rama refuses to do so that Bharat rules and that too only as a regent. Towns are evidently few and far between and forest life does not seem to dismay even the tender Sita. Besides, had towns and villages been pretty well developed and forest life been a thing of the remote past, even the ambitious step-mother Kekayie would not have demanded *Vanwasa* (abode in forests) for Rama, since she could have achieved her purpose by merely asking for Rama's exile. It may perhaps be argued that had Rama been merely exiled he would have gathered an army to support his claims to the throne against those of his half-brother, Bharat, and that *Vanwasa* with its isolation was hence essential for Kakayie's purpose. But the fulfilment of Dashrath's promise to her depended on Rama's obedience only and the question of a fratricidal war could not arise. Further, even in the forests, the brothers and Sita lived on in the primitive fashion, hunting and gathering fruits and roots for food; the dress too was evidently made of vegetable barks and leaves. The fancy that Sita took to have a bodice made of the skin of the enchanted gold coloured dear too bespeaks the primitiveness of the age. Evidently forest life was not quite a thing of the past then and society and the state were yet in their infancy. Morality too does not seem to have reached a high standard. Though Rama himself sets an ideal far in advance of his age or perhaps of any age, that the general level is low is shown by the fact that Vali carried off and lived with the wife of his own brother, Sugriva, the ally of Rama in his Ceylon Campaign, that after some time with Rama's assistance Vali was slain and the wife was recovered and accepted back by the former husband as if evidently the lady herself had no say in the matter and could be transferred to the victor like a chattel. Vibhishan, who deserted his brother Ravana, was rewarded by Rama not only with the kingdom of Ceylon (Lanka) but also with the possession, it could scarcely be the heart or the hand, of Mandodri, the favourite and faithful wife of Ravana. Even the ideal wife Sita herself taunts Lakshman, when he hesitates to leave her alone in the wood and go to the succour of Rama supposedly in distress while pursuing the enchanted golden deer, with the desire to let Rama die and take her to wife; and this, even though he was already married to Urmila, Sita's own younger sister. Man too was not sufficiently developed physically as shown by the existence of ape-like men, probably referring to the negroid races inhabiting Southern India with a prominent lower jaw and a flat nose and of bear-like men, hairy like the Ainus of Yezo.

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Inspite of the separation of Peninsular India from Africa in the past ages, Ceylon seems to have been attached to the main land of India by a narrow isthumus across what are now the Palk's Straits. With the people of Southern India for allies, naturally Rama discovered this passage to Ceylon; but as the isthumus was soon partly submerged, it has been poetically held that Rama built a bridge across to Lanka. The evolution of man was yet quite uneven as is evidenced by the rather extreme and one-sided ideals that are held out. The model brother, Laxman, is just the reverse of a model husband in that he deserts his own young wife to accompany his half-brother Rama. Otherwise is it not a wonder that the doom of exile pronounced on Rama should evoke on Sita's part the devotion of an ideal wife, on the part of Laxman the affection of an ideal younger brother, and that at the very same time we should meet with the strange supreme lack of even an approximation to the ideal of marital duty on the part of Laxman and his wife? The ideal wife Sita hardly finds an ideal husband in Rama, who bends under the storm much too easily, suspects her, after great hardships and perils encountered, endured and surmounted in recovering her, has the heart to desert her after his return to Ayodhya on the slightest breath of suspicion even though she was *enciente*, and while rejoicing in his godly sons Lava and Kusha when they grow up, has the heart to propose to her a second time, the trial by Ordeal of fire, to prove her chastity.

All these things evidently point to the rather embryonic state of society in which great differences of ideals and conduct naturally exist before things settle down a bit. Of course, there is a very decided advance on the preceding age, the age of Parshuram. Whereas the Waman avatar signifies the advent of reason and strategem as the golden keys to success and Parshuram the spirit of association and the end of isolation, forest life and destructivitism, the Rama avatar stands for society and the state, the spirit of co-operation. It is no longer the beast that man is afraid of, it is rather the reactionary or the being in the lower stage of civilization that is an obstacle to progress.

The Krishna Avatar. First Phase and the Pastoral Age.

In the evolution of the natural occupations of man, the pastoral age succeeds the forest age. The transition from hunting wild animals to the breeding and rearing of certain herbivorous ones marks a great advance in the history of mankind. Pastoral work demands for success the constant co-operation of many persons and so leads to the adoption of a closely-knit tribal organization which again paves the way to higher social and political communities. The life must be however migratory and limits the acquisition of property except in the form of flocks and herds which sometimes become very large. The story of the exploits of Krishna and the manner of his life reveal the pastoral age. Large herds of cattle are being constantly referred to and the youth of Krishna is passed in the company of cowboys and milkmaids. But with the destruction of Krishna's demon uncle, Kansa, the picture changes; nay, soon after the scene changes too. From Mathura on the Jumna, the scene shifts to Dwarka on the North-western extremity of the Kathiawar peninsula. The pastoral age is transmogrified into an advanced stage of society. Evidently, there is a gap in the story. The *gopis* with Radha, Nanda and Yeshoda and the familiar figures of the pastoral age all vanish and the simplicity of the earlier age is rudely replaced by the complexities of an advanced one in which we clearly see the glimmerings of the characteristic features of modern society and state. Balrama, the elder brother of Krishna with his primitive weapon, the quarter staff, seems

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more the consistent representative of the pastoral period than Krishna, the king of Dwarka with his discus, the skilled diplomat, the real conqueror of the Kauravas, the great philosopher of the Bhagvad Gita. The Krishna avatar seems thus to be two distinct epoch marking stages in the progress of man, presented side by side as one continuous whole; it seems there were two Krishnas—the Krishna of the milkmaids and the Krishna of the Mahabharat. In the Rama avatar too, rather a curious mixture of two stages can be discovered—the forest life and the construction of the society in the primitive stage of agriculture. If so, the pastoral age, the earlier phase of Krishna avatar ought to have preceded the higher phase of the age of Rama and the landmarks would run as—the Forest age or the Rama avatar, first phase; the pastoral age or the Krishna avatar, first phase or as it may be called the age of Balrama; the evolution of society or the Rama avatar, second phase; and the evolution of organization or the Krishna avatar, second phase. But the line of demarcation in the Rama avatar is not so easily discernible; the two seem to be mixed up in hopeless confusion and the balance of evidence seems to incline towards regarding the Rama avatar as a whole as having preceded the age of Balrama.

THE KRISHNA AVATAR, SECOND PHASE AND THE AGE OF ORGANIZATION.

That there was a very considerable advance all round in this age is all too clear. The conditions more nearly approximate to those within historic times in India under Hindu rule. The royal princes not only won their spurs as in the Ramayana but were systematically trained under a great military expert in a special school—the Aryan Sandhurst. The weapons in use are now much more advanced than in any of the preceding ages. Archery was still predominant and reached great perfection. There was of course the mighty Bhima with his terrible club; but in Arjuna, the friend and brother-in-law of Krishna of Dwarka, we find the perfect archer, the sharp shooter par excellence, to whom mere sound was enough to direct the death-dealing dart. The advance however did not stop at this; the mantras made the arrows perform all imaginable things. There was, for example, the agnastra (the fire weapon) which might be held to correspond to modern artillery or liquid fire; there was the *mohastra* (the weapon for unconsciousness) corresponding perhaps to the asphyxiating gases of the present age. At any rate, there is clear evidence of the great progress achieved in the character and use of weapons. The period of the exile of the Pandavas was spent not wholly in forests, as in the Ramayana, but in towns and villages, which clearly reveals that society had emerged into the agricultural and manufacturing stage from the primitive types of the earlier periods. But more; in this age it is generalship that spells success in warfare and not mere individual skill or prowess, much less mere physical strength. On the occasion of the Kaurava raid on Virata, it was the Pandava leadership that brought the victory. Again on the eve of the great war, Arjuna and Duryodhana, the Kaurava leader, sought the alliance of the great Dwarka King Krishna. Being unwilling to displease either side, Krishna proposed to lend his forces to one side and himself as a non-combatant to the other. Duryodhana, who was offered the choice, foolishly prefered the army and lost; Arjuna got the general and won. The advent of the generallissimo implies high development of military tactics and strategy. Krishna, practically the Pandava generallissimo, is faced by the Kaurava Hindenburgs and Ludendorffs in the persons of the terrible Bhishma and the skilled Dronacharya. Bhishma being almost of the same calibre as Krishna, the issue of the great war hung in the balance for many days till a strategem encompassed the retirement and subsequent

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death of the venerable leader. Dronacharya then devised diversions which for a time engrossed the attention of the Pandava generallissimo. His tactics during the interval were skilful in the extreme and caused enormous gaps in the Pandava ranks. Still better tactics were employed the next day, but the return of Arjuna and Krishna put a different complexion on the matter. Though Drona cut deep, Krishna cut just deeper ; the great and revered Principal of the military Academy was outgeneralled by Krishna. But still victory for the Pandava arms was as far as ever and ultimately another strategem disposed of the skilled Guru. Thereafter the Kauravas soon collapsed.

The state appears in this age to be well organised. The rather democratic tribal chiefship or urban kingship has been replaced by an absolute monarchy; the monarch is assisted and often guided and controlled by a council of princes, sardars, notables and feudatories. Ambassadors and diplomacy too have come into being.

Nor must we forget to take note of the great development in philosophy in this age as shown by the immortal Bhagvad Gita.

On the social side, the *swayamvara*, selection of the husband by the bride herself, is in favour with royalty; but a higher test of skill is now prescribed than in the age of Rama. Elopements and seductions replace the abductions Often it is that the damsel herself invites her lover to carry her off; the lover quite readily adopts the suggestion and the couple fly to the Gretna Green of the Knight errant's stronghold, outpacing or overpowering the infuriate father or brother or rejected suitor who pursues the fugitive couple post haste. Polygamy seems quite the established practice, probably as a higher stage to concubinage But curiously polyandry seems to exist also, though the custom is evidently fast waning in favour.

The Buddha Avatar and the age of Enlightenment.

The last age saw practically most of the characteristic features of modern society and modern state more or less developed. Of course in each department there has been wonderful progress; but the direction of progress has not been so distinctive as to constitute a land mark and an avatar. The development of the spiritual side of Man's nature, the enlightenment of his inner self, brought about by deep concentration and meditation, the evolution of the softer graces of humanity, yet remained. This great stage was ushered in by Buddha, the Enlightened; and as heroic adventures cannot fit in with the struggles in the inner man, we have no great epic weaving scientific evolution and fiction in a soul absorbing story. The new teaching is hence promulgated to the world as a great religion—Buddhism. Sinless life, effacement of self, development of soul force, mercy, justice, humanity and universal brotherhood are the ideas of the New Age.

The Kalki Avatar and the Passing of Man or the end of the World.

These new ideals have been preached and accepted in theory but practised r ally by the few in the spirit of the great Master. We are yet passing through the Buddha Epoch; no new avatar can be expected till we become all practically so many Buddhas more or less. What the new epoch will be is impossible to say with our human limitations of thinking about and forecasting the future. But this much can be said that the highest limit of excellence *as man* being, attained by now, from the days of Waman to the end of the Buddha age, nothing else can possibly remain but the evolution of altogether a new type of being, with perhaps a fourth dimension, differing as much from man as man differed from beast;

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or, if the Creator does not wish to create a new type of being, nothing else remains but the end of the world, which is believed to be the mission of the next avatar of the future, the Kalki.

The present age then according to this interpretation of the Dashavatars is that of Buddha; but it must be remembered that the evolution of a superior type does not connote the absolute extinction of the current one. The latter will certainly sink into insignificance more and more as the former spreads; but till then and even after that, it is possible to find practically specimens of each epoch still existing. There are numerous marine animals, numerous amphibians, numerous land animals from the boar to the lion, numerous men in the primitive stages of culture yet; but in the mass, we of the present day belong largely to the Krishna stage, with the characteristics in some cases more or less developed and emphasized. Only a few of us belong to the new epoch heralded by Buddha; these few, the moment their Buddha stage comes into notice, immediately subdue the many still lagging behind in the bye-gone stages, not by force or strategem but by enlightenment, exercise great influence over the wide-world and have their superiority promptly acknowledged.

This then is the interpretation of the Dashavatar which seems well borne out by the scriptures themselves as soon as the accounts are denuded of the webs of a rich poetic fancy. Each avatar thus was not an incarnation of God but merely the ideal of the new age. Besides these great or major incarnations, there are many more which are regarded as minor incarnations. These, we may be sure, on examination and analysis will stand revealed as the minor stages through which the main stages in the history of the evolution and progress of Man have been attained.

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Ajodhya *

By LALA SITA RAM, B. A., F. A. U., M. R. A. S.

AYODHYA, variously styled as Awadhapuri, Koshalpuri, Saketa, or Raghupatipuri, was the old capital of Uttara Koshala, situated on the right bank of the Sarayu. It is the first of the seven *tirthas* or holy places and is piously believed to be the greatest and the holiest. अयोध्यामथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची ह्यवंतिका। पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिका : "Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya, Kashi, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Avantika, Dwarawati (Dwarka), these seven confer eternal beatitude." Some of these owe their sanctity to their connection with this capital of Koshala. Mathura, long before the birth of Krishna, was founded by Shatrughna, deputed by Rama to kill Lavana, who harrassed the Rishis practising *tapas* on the banks of the Jumna. Kashi (Benares) is said to be the *smashan bhumi* (cemetry) of Ajodhya. It was at the holy confluence in Prayag that the kings of Ajodhya performed Yajnas or *yagas* whence its name, Pra-yaga. The Ganges, which has purified the world, was brought down by Bhagiratha, one of the kings of Ajodhya, and it was at Ayodhya, as Sir James, now Lord, Meston remarked in his inaugural address of the U. P. Historical Society, 'that the greatest of all incarnations, came to Rama in the palace of his royal father.'

Ayodhya was, as I have said, the capital of Uttara Koshala. The very name Uttara Koshala suggests the existence of another Koshala, the Dakshin Koshala. Panini mentions a Koshala, in his sutra IV-I-171 वृद्धेत्कोसलायाद्यञ्ञ्

Dr. Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Deccan, (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part I, p. 138) considers it to refer to a country near the Vindhya mountains. In the Vayu Purana it is stated that Kusa, son of Rama, ruled over Koshala at his capital of Kusatshali or Kusavati, † built upon the Vindhyan precipices, though Kasur in the Punjab also claims to be the Kusavati of Kusa. In the Ratnavali the "king of Koshala is surrounded by the Vindhya mountains." विन्ध्यदुर्गावस्थितस्य कोसलनृपते; (Act IV). Hiuen Thsang passed from Kalinga to Koshala. It is clear therefore that not only was there a rival Koshala in the south the capital of which was Sripur now Sirpur on the Mahanadi but even

* A lecture delivered before the U. P. Historical Society at Lucknow on 28th January, 1920.

† This is evidently the Kusavati of Kalidas as Kusa when travelling to Ayodhya had to cross the Vindhya mountains व्यलंघयद् विन्ध्यमु पांयनानि पश्यन्पुलिन्दै रुपपादितानि : XVI. 23 as also the river Ganges तीर्थे तदीये गज सेतु बधात प्रतीपगामुत्तर तोऽथगंगाम् ।

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in the reign of Pulakesin I who came to the throne in 611 A. D. and to whom a king of Koshala surrendered himself, it was called simply Koshala, leaving the country round Ayodhya to distinguish itself as best it could.

The northern Koshala seems hardly to have fared better. Kalidas in more than one place calls it the Uttara Koshala.

पितुरनन्तरमुत्तर कोशलान् Raghuvansha, Canto V.

श्लाघ्यं दधत्युत्तर कोशलेन्द्राः Raghuvansha, Canto IX, I.

The Anand Ramayana and Tulsidas do not seem to know of any other Koshala. The Bhagwatapurana mentions it both as Koshala and Uttara Koshala. In Skand V, Canto 19, Sloka 8 and Skanda IX Canto 10, Sloka 42, the country is called the Uttara Koshala.

भजेत् रामं मनुजाकृतिं हरिं य उत्तराननयत् कोशलांन्दिवम् ।
धुन्वंत उत्तरासंगां पतिं वीक्ष्य चिरागतम् ।
उत्तरा : कोसला माल्यै : किरंतो ननृतु : मुदा ॥

In Skanda IX, Canto 10, Sloka 20 Rama is called Koshaleshwar.

Nor have the boundaries of the kingdom been as settled as that of Mithila from time immemorial to the present day. It is generally believed that it extended from the Gogra to the Ganges. Some scholars seem to think that the part north of the river was called Uttara Koshala though the kingdom of Saketa seems to have extended as far as the Ganges. Rama and after him some of the Gupta kings of Ayodhya wielded the sceptre of a vast empire. Even Dilipa is said to have ruled the earth like a city, making the ocean as its ditch and the mountains on the seashore as its ramparts. Sravasti was the capital of Koshala and Tusharan Bihar * of Partabgarh District which Colonel Vost identifies as Saketa, is also said to have been in Koshala.

The Koshala of Valmiki is thus described in the beginning of the book ;

कोसलो नाम विदित : स्फीतो जनपदो महान् ।
निविष्टः सरयू तीरे प्रभूत धन धान्यवान् ॥

'Koshala was a prosperous country, on the banks of the Sarayu.' The word (निविष्ट) seems to imply that it was situated on the both banks of the river.

'The ancient territory of Ayodhya or Oudh,' says Cunninghan "was divided by the Sarju or the Gogra river into two great provinces, that to the north being called Uttara Koshala and to the south Banaudha (बनौध). Each was again sub-divided into two dis-

* The name Bihar is given to a collection of villages officially known as Ram Das Patti, Deohar Patti, and Teki Patti. In the east of Ram Das Patti there is one mound known as Tusharan, about 7 acres in extent rising to a height of 13 ft. over the surrounding land. (Nevill's Pertabgarh Gazetteer.)

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tricts. In Banaudha they were called Pachcham Rat and Purab Rat or the western and eastern districts and in Uttara Koshala, the *Gauda*, to the south of the Rapti and Koshala to the north of the Rapti or Rawati as it is universally called in Oudh. Some of these names are found in the Puranas. Thus in the Vayu Purana, Lava, the son of Rama, is said to have reigned in Uttara Koshala and in the Matsya, Linga and Kurma Puranas, Sravasti is said to be in Gauda. These apparent discrepancies are explained satisfactorily when we learn that Gauda is only a sub-division of Uttara Koshala and that the ruins of Sravasti have actually been discovered in the district of Gauda which is Gonda of the maps. The extent of Gonda is proved by the old name of Balrampur on the Rapti which was formerly Ramgarh Gauda. Ayodhya was therefore the capital of Banaudha or Oudh to the south of the Gogra, while Sravasti was the capital of Uttara Koshala to the north of the Ghagra." (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 408).

Hiuen Thsang assigns to the district a circuit of 4000 li or 667 miles.....(Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 461). We shall enter into the details of Cunningham's note further on. It is sufficient for our purpose at present to note that the northern boundary of the kingdom of Koshala was admittedly the Himalaya mountains.

It is, however, not till we come to the Ayodhya-kand that we cross the southern boundary of the kingdom allotted by Manu, the founder of Ayodhya, to Ikshwaku. This southern boundary was the Syandika, the modern Sai, which now flows past Partabgarh and cuts the Allahabad Fyzabad Railway at the 61st mile from Fyzabad making the breadth of the kingdom at eight Yojanas. (A *yojana* being a little less than 8 miles).

I have failed to find any argument to support Cunningham's remark that the country north of the Gogra was called Koshala. The country between the Sai and the Ganges may have been included later on but Valmiki distinctly says that the villages lying between the Sai and the Ganges were governed by other Rajas, and the Guha Nishadraj, though he says :—

नहि रामात् प्रियतरो ममास्ति भुवि कश्चन

'I have no dearer friend than Rama' was an independent ruler.

It is, however, not so easy to determine the eastern and western boundaries. No kingdom seems to have intervened between Mithila and Koshala. From the Buddhist records the *Dighanikaya* and the *Sumangala Vilasini*, the following account of the origin of Sakyas is given in J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 163. "The banished sons of the third Okkaka (Ikshwaku) king, went away towards the Himalaya mountains.....and there they founded the city of Kapila Vathu (Kapila Vastu) on a site (Vathu-Vastu) allotted to them by the Brahman Saint Kapila, a previous incarnation of Buddha, whom they found dwelling in a hut of leaves on

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the banks of a tank on the slopes of the Himalayas in Sakasandha or Sakavana Sandha, a grove of teak trees. Building the city on that site they erected their palace on the spot actually occupied by Kapila's hut, making for Kapila another hut of leaves beside it.'

The third Okkaku may be Vikukshi of the Ramayana but the fact remains that the greater part of the northern India was divided among the sons of Ikshwaku, a son ruling in Koshala, another in Kapila Vastu, a third in Vishala,* and a fourth in Mithila. The Kapila Vastu kingdom is not mentioned in the Ramayana and if it existed at all, was probably an insignificant state at the foot of the Himalayas. Had it intervened, Valmiki must have mentioned it. We are thus led to the conclusion that the eastern boundary of Koshala was the Gandak, the eastern territories extending along the banks of the Sarju to its junction with the Ganges on both sides. It may be noted here that Vishwamitra in his journey to the Siddhasram in Buxar found no kingdom in the way. The Vrihatsanhita mentions only Panchala, Koshala, Videha, and Magadha, as kingdoms of the Madhyadesa. Vishala, noted above, was situated in a corner, south-west of Mithila. The boundary line may thus be presumed running along the Sai till its junction with the Gomti excluding the domains of Raja Gadhi, who though belonging to Kannouj had held sway over a part of the country around the present cities of Ghazipur and Buxar, passing through a wilderness to the junction of the Sarju and the Ganges near Ballia and thence making a detour to the north to meet the Gandak. On the west Koshala seems to have been bounded by Panchala, which at a subsequent period of history was divided into two parts, the northern with its capital at Ahichhatra, and the southern with Kampila as its chief town. One is tempted to think that the river Ramganga was the western limit, its very name suggesting its connection with the great hero of the Ramayana. We shall, however, be satisfied with coinciding the western boundary with that of the present province of Oudh.

Cunningham remarks that the term Uttara Koshala was applied only to the country north of the Gogra. The Oudh Gazetteer limits it to the part north of the Rapti. When however it is clear that the realm of Koshala extended from Sravasti to Tusharan Bihar and that there was a Dakshin Koshala among the Vindhyas we are inclined to think that Uttara Koshala extended on both banks of the river and that the part north of the Gogra was called Gauda. Pergana Ramgarh Gaura within recent times included the districts of Gonda, Basti, and Gorakhpur. After the decline of Ayodhya, this part seems to have become more important. Lava is said to have established himself in Sravasti while his elder brother built his capital on the banks of the Gomti 20 cos south of Ayodhya.

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*Bisarh in Muzafferpur district of Bihar.

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Later on, it became the cradle of Buddhism. Kapila Vastu the birth-place of the Master and Kusinagar (Kassia) where he attained Nirvana are both situated in Uttara Koshala "Its capital was the scene of the prophet's earliest and most successful labours, his favourite resting place during the rainy months and the recruiting ground from which the chief among his immediate disciples were drawn in." (Oudh Gazetteer, p. XXXII).

The country south of the Gogra was divided into Purva Rashtra and Paschim Rastra or the eastern and western districts. Pachhim Rath is still a pergana of Bikapur tahsil in Fyzabad. Subsequently it became desolate till Vikramaditya, as will be shown further on, restored its past glory, and all the while it was called Banoudha or Vana Avadh, *the forest of Oudh*.

Of the several districts now included in the old Uttara Koshala, Bahraich originally formed part of Gandharvavana and is believed by some to have been the abode of Brahma (Brahmaitch) and by others, a colony of Bhars. I have also heard it remarked that the word is a corrupt form of Bahre-Asaish (بحر اساش), ocean of comfort. It was the centre of sun worship, contained a temple of the sun-god (Balarka, young son), with a tank dedicated to the same deity, corresponding to Balaji of Duttia state, on the site of which Syed Salar, Gazi Miyan or the Bale Miyan was subsequently buried.

Gonda, evidently the modern form of Gaura (गौड़) includes Sahet Mahet, the site of the old Sravasti, which in addition to its being the capital of a powerful kingdom founded by Lava, the second son of Lord Rama, to quote the Oudh Gazetteer "assumed an almost world-wide importance, as the centre-point of that wonderful religion whose peaceful missionaries sowed the seeds of a new culture from the Caspian Sea to Mexico and which through its monasticism had affected so vastly our own ecclesiastical polity."

Sravasti after a time became a desert and a mass of ruins. Kalidas says that Dilipa, in his journey to the *asram* of his guru, Vasishtha, passed through a settlement of *ghoshas* or cowherds, who met him with presents of fresh butter. This asram was evidently somewhere in the Himalayas and the settlement is probably represented now-a-days by the pargana of Gwarich, though it is popularly believed that it was here that Raja Virat's cattle were protected by Pandavas during their banishment, (goraksha-gwarich).

The Varahakshetra, on the confluence of the Saraju and the Gogra, is believed to be the site of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu though there are three other rival claimants to this honour. It is, however, certainly the Shukarkshetra where Tulsidas heard the story of the Ramayana from his guru.

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Lucknow is said to be on the site of a city founded by Lakshmana and called from the founder Lakshamanvati. The high ground situated near the Machhibhavan Fort is still known as the Lakshman Tila.

Sultanpur.—The original town is said to have been founded by Kusa, a son of Rama, and to have been named after him Kusapur or Kusa-bhawanapura. This site has been identified by Cunningham with Kusapura mentioned by Hiuen Thsang, who states that there was in his time a dilapidated stupa of Asoka and that Buddha taught here for six months. Buddhist remains are still visible at Mahmudpur a village, 5 miles distant to the north-west of Sultanpur. It was destroyed by Alauddin Khilji.

Close to Sultanpur on the Gomti, immediately below the civil lines, a place is still pointed out, named Sita-kund, where Sita is said to have bathed as she accompanied her husband in his banishment.

Fyzabad stretches along the north bank of the Gogra which is the most important river of the district and forms its northern boundary. "During the rains the river attains an immense size and volume; it is extraordinarily erratic in its action and frequently changes its channel from year to year, shifting from side to side of its wide sandy bed. In the cold weather and during the early summer months the river shrinks to comparatively small dimensions, it leaves on either side a broad stretch of rich alluvial land, although in places there are wide expanses of sand covered jhau jungle. The river is considered sacred by the Hindus, and the portion between Guptarghat in the Fyzabad cantonments and Bilharghat below Ayodhya possesses peculiar sanctity. Here it is known as the Sarju, a name which one feeder of the river bears in the hills of Almora before its junction with the Kali or Sarda at Rameshwar and which is also applied to the Suheli in Kheri, which falls into the Kauriala or the Gogra."

It is needless to describe the various places of Ramayanic interest scattered in the district and I shall therefore pass over to Ayodhya, Avadhpuri, Saketa or Vishakha. Major (now Colonel) Vost is inclined to think that Saketa, though situated in Koshala was a different town altogether, and identifies it with Tusharan-bihar in Partabgarh district. Archæologists seem to have been misled by the wrong bearing and distances of the Chinese travellers and identified Ayodhya with Lucknow, Kursi (Barabanki), Sujankot (Unao), and Daundia Khera (Unao). We are, however, inclined to agree with Cunningham and believe that Ayodhya, Vishakha, (Pisokia), Saketa (Sachi) are synonymous. We also believe in the identity of the Ayuto of Hiuen Thsang and Ayodhya. We shall try to dispose of some of the arguments urged by Colonel Vost :—

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At the outset Colonel Vost quotes Kalidas and tries to show that in spite of Mallinath's explanation, Saket may not have been meant to be Ajodhya. Against this it is sufficient to say that with Kalidas, Ayodhya and Saketa are identical,

पुरमविशद योध्यां मैथिली दर्शिनीनाम् Raghuvansha Canto. XI-98.
साके तनार्योऽञ्जलिभिर्प्रणेमु : Ibid Canto. XVI-13.

If the learned Colonel's conclusion is accepted, we shall have to assume that the metropolis at the time of Rama's marriage had shifted to Tusharan-bihar when he returned from his exile. The first tirthankara Rishabha (Adinath) of the Jains was a son of Nabhi and Merudevi, king and queen of Saketa. Now the Jains piously believe that Adinath was born at Ayodhya and the site of a temple built in his honour is still pointed out on *Shah Juran ka tilla* at about a furlong from my house.

But the most convincing argument in my opinion is the locality of the 'tooth-brush' tree of Buddha. Buddha during his stay in Saketa (Sachi or Pisokia) planted his tooth-brush (daton) which grew up six or seven feet high and was seen by both Fahian and Hiuen Thsang.

With respect to Sachi, Fahian relates that 'on leaving the town by the southern gate, we find to the east of the road, the place where Buddha bit a branch of the nettle tree and planted it in the ground where it grew to the height of seven feet and never increased or diminished in size.' Now this is precisely the same legend that is related of Vishakha by Hiuen Thsang who says that to the south of the capital and to the left of the road (that is to the east as stated by Fahian) there was among other holy objects an extraordinary tree 6 or 7 feet high which always remained the same neither growing nor decreasing. This is the celebrated tooth brush tree of Buddha.

Buddha is said to have spent 16 years of his life in the Purbarrama at Saketapura.

Now as we drive along the pucca road from Ajodhya to Fyzabad we find after leaving Hanumangarhi a sacred tank called the Datun kund (दतूनकुण्ड) to the left of the road. In spite of the popular belief and the Ayodhya Mahatmya which would make it the reservoir, sitting on the banks of which Lord Rama used to brush his teeth and rinse his mouth, the temptation is irresistible that this tank marks the site either of the old tooth-brush tree of Buddha or of a tank excavated near it, the water of which was piously believed to have been used by Gautam for cleansing his mouth during his stay at Ayodhya, the tree having dried up, the tank still remains to commemorate the sojourn of the Great Master. The southern gate would be somewhere near Hanumangarhi, the garhi being probably the southern bastion. From Hanumangarhi to Sarju fascine it is little more than a mile but the river is very changeable in its course and at the time of the pilgrim's visit it may have flowed

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further north. Within my memory the river has cut away many thousand acres of land of Basti and Gonda districts and many miles of alluvion have been added to Ajodhya.

Hiuen Thsang makes the circuit of the Pisokia capital about 16 li. This could not possibly include within itself the metropolis of a powerful kingdom. I have reason to believe that it was the circuit of Ramkot which will be described further on. Dr. Fuhrer says that in Gonda people believe that the tooth-brush tree was *Chilbil* which never grows higher more than six or seven feet. It may also be karsunda, datuns of which are still used in Oudh especially in Lucknow. It may be interesting to note that there is nothing unusual in the growing of the tooth-brush. In Ghatampur town of Cawnpore district about a mile from the tahsil there is a large pucca house belonging to a Mahant in the second story of which a huge nim tree, cleft in the middle, has grown from a tooth-brush planted on the spot by a sadhu 200 years ago. Nothing is further from my intentions than to shake the popular belief by the remarks The pious Vaishnava may still find consolation in the fact that Buddha was as much an incarnation of Vishnu as Lord Rama.

"The ancient city of Ajodhya," says Cunningham, "is described in the Ramayana as situated on the bank of the Sarayu or Sarju river. It is said to have been 12 yojanas or nearly 100 miles in circumference for which we should probably read 12 cos or 24 miles, an extent which the old city with its gardens might once probably have covered. The distance from Guptarghat on the west to the Ramaghat on the east is just 6 miles in a direct line and we suppose the city with its whole intervening space the circuit would have agreed exactly with the smaller measurement of 12 cos. At the present day the people point to Ramaghat and the Guptarghat as the eastern and western boundaries of the old city and the southern boundary they extend to Bharatkund near Bhadarsa distance of 6 cos." 'In the Ayn-i-Akbari the city is said to have measured 148 cos in length by 36 cos in breadth or, in other words, covered the whole of the province of Oudh to the north of Ghogra river.'

Hiuen Thsang assigns to the district a circuit of 4000 li or 667 miles (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 461)."

With respect to the circumference of 24 miles mentioned by Cunningham, it may be noted here that the Paikarma of Ajodhya which is sometimes a safe guide in determing the limits of the old religious town is said to be 14 cos or 28 miles and according to some only 24 miles. This includes within itself the city of Fyzabad as well and some of the adjoining villages as will be described further on. This may be the boundary of the inhabited site but is certainly not the circumference of the old city as described by Valmiki.

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Ajodhya is said to have been founded by Manu and was 12 yojanas long and 3 yojanas broad. The city extended from Sarju to Vedasruti. This Vedasruti should therefore be 24 miles from Ajodhya and is now represented by modern Bisui which rises in Sultanpur district, and still forms a part of the southern boundary of Fyzabad district cutting the Allahabad Fyzabad Railway at about two miles from Khajurhat station and joins the Marha at Akbarpore after which the united streams assume the name of Tons.

As regards the eastern and western boundaries a glance at the map of Fyzabad district will show that it comprises a strip of land stretching along the banks of Ghogra, seldom more than 25 miles broad from Azamgarh to Barabanki, a distance of about 80 miles. Cunningham, who does not seem to have consulted the Ramayana, quotes the Ayn-i-Akbari and after some remarks on the vanity of Brahmans admits that the city including the suburb was 48 yojanas long. This will include within itself the present city of Lucknow, thus giving countenance to the popular tradition that Lakshamanpur (Lucknow) was at the western gate of Ajodhya. The Ajodhya Mahatama says that the confluence of the Sarju and the Gogra was to the west. This confluence is now about 40 miles to the east. It is also said that the eastern gate of the city was at a place to the east of Birahar in Fyzabad district on the borders of Azamgarh.

The western boundary of the city and the suburbs can hardly be taken with any degree of certainty.

Leaving out the environs we shall describe the inhabited site. I have already mentioned the Paikarma. This is performed every year on the 9th of the bright half of Kartik and usually begins at the Swargadwara on the banks of Sarju, though one is free to commence it from any point in the circuit provided that he finishes at the same point. Starting from Swargadwara, the pilgrim walks along the banks of the river for about 7 miles then makes a bend to the south passing through Sahnivazpur and Mohtarimnagar and makes a halt at Surajkund in Darshannagar, a beautiful tank sacred to the sun god adjoining a bazaar built by Raja Darshansinha. From Darshannagar he travels west through Koraha, Mirzapur and Bikhapur to Jananra, a prosperous village on the Fyzabad Sultanpur road.

This village is about 5 miles to the south-west of Ajodhya and about 2 miles from the city of Fyzabad on the southern boundary of the municipality. In this village there is a magnificent pacca tank called Girja Kund with a temple of Shiva. This place is held sacred as an important place of worship in Ajodhya and is visited by an immensely large number of pilgrims that go round Ajodhya in a circuit of 28 miles once a year in the month of Kartik.

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The village Janoura (a corrupt form of Jankaura) was so called after Maharaja Janak of Mithila who had acquired it from the Maharaja of Ajodhya for his temporary residence on the occasion of his visit to Ajodhya as according to orthodox Hindu views one could not drink even water in the territory belonging to his son-in-law.

This village is inhabited by the Thakurs of Surajbans clan who claim to be the descendants of Sri Ram Chandra. Their ancestors were brought from the Kulu hills in the Punjab. It is said when Raja Vikramaditya undertook to restore Ajodhya on its ancient ruins he was advised by the Pandits to bring the descendants of Sri Ramchandra to take part in the Yajna which could not be performed otherwise.

From Janaura the votary passes on between Khojanpur and the civil lines to Nirmalikund on the banks of the Ghogra, thence to Guptarghat and completes his round at the start.

Having thus settled the position of Ajodhya, 'its eponymous city to quote the Oudh Gazeetteer, was the capital of that happy kingdom, in which all that the Hindu race reveres and desires, was realised as it can never be realised again and the seat of the glorious dynasty which began with the sun and culminated after sixty generations of blameless sovereigns in the incarnate deity and perfect man, Rama.' (Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I., Introduction chap. II, p. XXXI).

Ajodhya is said to have been carried to heaven by Lord Rama which evidently means that it was deserted. Ajodhya has a very important position. It is the centre of the most fertile part of the country, called the garden of India. Situated on the banks of a very large river in which steamers can ply during the rains it was, till very lately the centre of a very large river traffic and is practically equidistant from Peshawar, Chittagong, and Cape Camorin. It was on this account that after the completion of the extensive conquest effected by Samudragupta, the capital had to be shifted from Pataliputra to Ajodhya. 'Ajodhya, the legendary abode of the hero Rama, the ruins of which have supplied materials for building the modern city of Fyzabad in southern Oudh, enjoying more favourable situation, appears to have been at time the headqrarters of the government of both Samudragupta and his son the latter of whom probably had a mint for copper coins there. There is reason to believe that during the fifth century, Ajodhya rather than Pataliputra was the premier city of the Gupta Empire.' (V. A. Smith's Early History of India, p. 293.)

Lord Rama was a model Hindu and had an equal regard for his sons and nephews. Having partitioned his dominions among them, he removed all the paraphernalia of royalty from Ajodhya. It may be noted here that after his death the brothers,—I mean in the Hindu sense—acknowledged Kusa, the eldest son of Rama as their over-lord and he was persuaded to

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leave his capital of Kushavati, possibly Kasur in the distant Vindyas as described by Kalidas, and re-established himself in the ancestral metropolis. The description of the restoration of Ayodhya by Kusa in Raghuvansa in Canto VI may be the actual restoration of the city by Vikramaditya (Chandragupta II) patron of Kalidas.

But the glory of descendants even of the sun was bound to set never to rise again. We read in the Mahabharta, that Brihadvala one of the descendants of Kusa was slain by Abhimanyu in the great war. According to Vishnupurana, the race of Ikshwaku terminated with Sumitra in the Kali age.

We next hear of Ajodhya as a place of some importance in the fifth century before Christ when Buddha stayed here for six years acccording to some and for sixteen years according to others. It was thenceforth a stronghold of Buddhist faith though its glories were over shadowed by Sravasti, the then capital of Koshala. It was then known as Vishakha, after a lady of that name who had built an Aram here.

It again appears to have dwindled to insignificance or actually become a wilderness till it was restored by Vikramaditya. 'Chandragupta II has a better claim than any other sovereign to be regarded as the original of the mythical king of that name who figures so largely in Indian legend.' (Vincent Smith's Early History of India, page 290). 'His main clue in tracing the ancient city was the holy river Sarju and his next was the shrine still known as the Nageswarnath which is dedicated to Mahadeva and which he found recorded in ancient manuscripts, the different shrines to which pilgrims from a far still in thousands half-yearly flock.'

'Samudra Pal Dynasty—According to tradition Raja Bikramajit ruled over Ajodhya for eight years, and at the end of that time he was out-witted by Jogi Samundra Pal who having by magic made away with the spirit of the Raja, himself entered into the abandoned body, and he and his dynasty succeeding to the kingdom they ruled over it for seventeen generations or six hundred and forty three years which gives an unusual number of years for each reign.

'The Sribastam dynasty—This dynasty is supposed to have been succeeded by the trans-Gogra Sribastam family of which Tilokchand was a prominent member. It was probably against the Sribastam dynasty that Saiyad Saler made his ill-stared advance in Oudh, when, in the earliest Mohammadan invasion he and his army left their bones to bleach in the wilds of Bahraich (Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 3.)

In the twelth century of the Christian era, Ajodhya seems to have formed a part of the kingdom of Kanauj. 'A copper grant of Jaichand, the last of the Kanauj Rathors, dated 1187 A. D. or six years before his death was found near Fyzabad when Colonel Caulfield was Resident

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at Lucknow.' (Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 4). In this grant Jaichand gave a village named Komali to Alenga of the Bhardwaj line.

The history of Ajodhya during the Muhammadan rule does not contain any thing remarkable. It was the head-quarters of a Subedar of the Delhi Empire. When Khanjahan was governor of Oudh, the famous poet Amir Khusro stayed for two years in his court at Ajodhya. The Tughlaks had a special liking for Ajodhya and Firoz made repeated visits to it. Shortly after this it was invaded by Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpore and it became a part of the Jaunpur kingdom. It was invaded by Babar in 1528 who demolished the old Janmasthan or the temple erected on the site of Lord Rama's birth, and built a mosque there which still stands. Another large temple at Swargadwar was demolished by Aurangzeb and a mosque built there which is now in ruins. Akbar had a mint here which seems subsequently to have been transferred to Bahraich.

Ajodhya regained its importance in the reign of early Nawab Wazirs. Saadat Khan, 'the Persian pedlar' was appointed governor of Oudh in 1731. He built the Qila Mubaruk in Ajodhya a little to the west of Lachhmanghat. He, however, soon shifted to Fyzabad, another part of the old city and four miles west from qila. He built a bangla or a shooting box on the site of the present Dilkusha or the Opium Godown. Around this bangla, a city rose in the reign of his grandson Shujauddoula whose splendour excited the admiration of travellers. After his death his widow, the famous Bahu Begam, remained here till her death in 1816 and his son Asafuddoula removed the capital to Lucknow.

It also appears that in the thirteenth century of the Christian era some Hindus of Ajodhya, trampled under foot by Musalman bigotry migrated to Siam and founded the city of Ayodhyapura, (Juthia or Ajuthia of modern maps) which was the capital of powerful empire from 1350 to 1767. The Majapahet empire of Java was at the zenith of its power in about 1780 A. D. and embraced most of the Archipalago and several dependencies in the southern part of the Malay peninsula 'and had a friendly relation with a number of stations on the Indo-Chinese mainland. One of these states was Ajodhyapura (J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 485 et seq). It was important enough to be courted, at the close of the fourteenth century of the Christian era by Ming, emperor of China, 'to use her influence with Java'—to induce the latter to keep her vassal Sanfoshi (Sri Bhoja Palembeg) quiet, as this state had become a real *enfante terrible*, and had carried its offensive against China so far as to murder the imperial envoy.'

A history of the city will be incomplete without mention of the Sakaddipi race of Talugdars, to whom the modern town owes much of its

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present beauty. We have already mentioned the name of Darshansinha, as the founder of the bazaar of Darshannagar in the paikarma. During the forty years preceding annexation he formed an immense estate in the centre of the district of Fyzabad by purchases from revenue defaulters, by forfeiture of the delinquent's property and by other means so freely used during the Nawabi. It was formally constituted a raj and the title granted to perpetuity in 1253 F. nineteen years before annexation in 1855. (Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I., p. 466). Raja Darshansinha was succeeded by his son Maharaja Sir Mansinha, K. C. S. I., Mansinha died in 1872 and after sixteen years of litigation the right to succeed to the estate was decreed to his daughter's son Lal Pratap Narain Sinha. Mahamahopadhyaya Maharaja Sir Pratap Narain Sinha, K. C. I. E. had his title of Maharaja of Ajodhya recognised by Government and held the state for nearly twenty years. He died childless in 1906 and was succeeded by his widow Srimati Maharani Jagdamba Devi.

We now proceed to describe the places of historical intesest in Ajodhya.

"The most remarkable of these is of course, the Ramkot the stronghold of Ramchandra. This fort covered large extent of ground and according to ancient manuscripts, it was surrounded by twenty bastions each of which was commanded by one of Rama's famous generals after whom they took the names by which they are still known. Within the fort, there were eight royal mansions where dwelt the patriach Dasrath his wives and Rama, his deified son." (Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 3).

The following description of Ramkot is taken from Ayodhya Mahatamya translated into English by B. Ramnarain of Bareilly and published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1875.

"At the (principal) gate of the palace lives Hanuman; to the south of him Sugriva and near him Angada. At the southern gate of the fort reside Nala and near then, Sukhain. To the east there is a temple called the Navaratna (nine jewels a temple with nine spires) north of which lives Gavaksha. At the eastern gate of the fort resides Dudhavakra. Near this lives Sut Bul; a little further Gandhamadana, Surubha and Bunun. At the northern gate of the fort lives Bibhishan and east of him Surama his wife respected by all; she protects the residence of Vighneshwar and to east of it lives Pindurak. East of him is the abode of Vira Mattagujendra. The protector of Ayodhya Vira Sunkay is the protector of our desires. In the eastern part lives Dovid, and in the north-east the wise and intelligent Mayund, in the southern portion Jambavan, in the south Kesari. These protect the fort in all directions."

Only four of these bastions exist, the Hanumangarhi the Sugriva and Angad tilas and the Mattagajendra popularly known as the Matgenda. The Hanumangarhi, as it now exists a small fort of four

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bastions is said to have been built on old mound by Tikait Rai, minister of Asafuddoula when the large image was installed, while the old one being much smaller was placed in front of it.

Ajodhya is pre-eminently the home of bairagis and Hanumaugarhi is their great stronghold. The bairagis of the Garhi are of Nirvani sect and are divided into four pattis.

An ordinary educated Indian looks down upon bairagis as an unruly rabble whose only motto is to eat drink and be merry. This, however, is not the case. "The disciples have to pass through a series of under stages which are identical in all cases. They are admitted while at the age of sixteen, although the rule is relaxed in the case of Brahmans and Rajputs, who also enjoy other privileges, especially in the matter of exemption from menial services. The first stage is known as the chhora and lasts for three years; the work of the novice consists of servile offices, such as cleaning the smaller utensils of the temple and of the common mess, carrying wood and performing puja páth. The second stage is also for three years and is known as the *bandagidar*. The disciple now draws water from the well, cleans the larger vessels, cooks the food, as well as doing puja. At the expiration of this period there follows a third stage of equal duration known as the *hurdanga*. In this, work consists in taking the daily food to the idols, distributing the daily rations, given at midday to the brethren, doing puja and carrying the nishan or temple standard. In the tenth year, the disciple enters the fourth period of the so called *nága*. During this stage he leaves Ajodhya with his contemporaries and goes the round of all the tirthas or sacred places of India subsisting all the time in mendicancy. At his return he reaches the fifth or final stage called *atith*, which continues till his life's end. He now ceases to work except in the matter of puja path and is provided with food and clothing."

It is evident therefore that the office of a bairagi is not sinecure. He has a regular religious training and has always proved to be a guardian of Hindu religion and the *sanatan dharma*, unfettered by family ties and ever ready to lay down his life for the cause of his religion. A picture in the Lucknow Museum shows how the bairagis made a firm stand against Akbar in Hardwar. In the year 1855 when a great rupture took place between the Hindus and Musalmans in Ajodhya, and the Musalmans actually charged up the steps of the Garhi, which they wanted to desecrate, it was the bairagis who drove them back with considerable loss. They behaved as bravely when a second attempt was made shortly afterwards by Molvi Amir Ali of Amethi, and have always been champions of their creed in preventing profanation of Ajodhya only yielding to the superior force of the government of the country, but re-establishing themselves as soon as the pressure was removed. On other occasions they are as peaceful as religious obey devoted to the

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service of God can be expected to be. They count among their number more than one nobleman, many a retired Deputy Collector and Subordinate Judge and the greatest modern saint at present is Sri Sitaramsaran Bhagwan Prasada, a retired deputy inspector of schools. The great poet reformer and religious teacher Tulasidas was a *smarta vaishnava* of Ajodhya and within my memory Janki Prasad once diwan (Chief Minister) of Panna State afterwards known as Rasikbihari retired to Ajodhya and became a bairagi and Mahant of Kanakbhavan. One of these, was the late Baba Raghunathdas, my father's guru and my initiator in *vidya*, who is worshipped as a god by millions of Hindus in all part of India. The late Baba Jugulananya Sharan and his successor, the late Baba Jankivarsaran were both great Sanskrit and Persian scholars and the former was also a great poet.

I have already said that the bairagis are divided into several akharas or orders. "These seven orders have a regular system precedence which is observed in ceremonial processions and on similar occasions. In front come the Digambaris, followed by the Nirbanis on the right and the Nirmehis on the left. In the third rank behind the Nirbanis march the Khakis on the right and the Niralambis on the left; and after the Nirmohis come the Santokhis and Mahanirbanis in the same order. Between each body a space is left both in front and on the flanks." My object in giving a brief account of them is only to correct a mistaken notion of modern educated young men who hold that a bairagi is a *haramkhor* rogue subsisting on the misdirected charity of the credulous Hindu public, whom he swindles outright in a religious garb. There are black sheep in every fold, but as a general rule I must assert without fear of contradiction and without any intention of offending religious men of other orders, that the Vaishanava bairagi of Ajodhya being a votary of the Lord Rama is as self-denying, as self-obliterating and as exclusively religious as any other member of a religious community in the world.

The second and third bastions are the Sugriva tila and the Angad tila (*sic* Kabir parbat) both to the south of the Garhi. General Cunningham thinks that the Sugriva tila marks the site of the great monastery of Hiuen Thsang which is south-east of and within five hundred feet of the Maniparbat. Five hundred feet due south he identified another mound which he thinks is the Kabir parbat or the stupa described by Hiuen Thsang as containing the hair and nails of Buddha. Cunningham admits a connection between the Maniparbat and the Ramkot, and the connection of these mounds with Ramkot is more direct.

The next shrine of importance is the Janmasthan or the birth place of Lord Rama, on the site of which Babur built a mosque which still bears his name, in 1528 A. D. It is situated on a mound called by the Hindus Tulavedi or the altar. It is said that King Dasratha

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performed the Putreshti yajna here and in my childhood I used to dig up burnt rice from it. I have already mentioned the restoration of Ajodhya by Vikramaditya. It is a fact established by tradition as also by authentic historical researches that before the restoration of Ajodhya by Vikramaditya it was in ruins. As the great Kalidas is universally admitted to have flourished at the time of this Vikramaditya and was one of the gems of this court I am inclined to think that the description of the restoration of Ajodhya by Kusha in Chapter XVI of the Raghuvansha is an account of the transfer of the imperial Gupta metropolis from Ujjain (not Pataliputra) to Ajodhya by Chandra Gupta II and the yajnavedi was the place where the gigantic puja, yajna was performed at a time when ghee and rice were not selling at the present discouraging rates. The yajnavedi may have been the birth place of Lord Rama but I am dicidedly of opinion that it was resanctified by the yajna of Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya. The old temple of Rama has been but slightly altered by its desecrator, The central dome of the new mosque seems to be the original dome of the temple, many of its columns are still in existence and in good preservation. These are of strong close grained dark coloured or black stone, called by the natives Kasauti (literally touch-stone slate) and carved with different devices. They are from seven to eight feet high, square at the base centre and the capital and round or octagonal intermediately.

After the rupture, the Hindus took possession of the court-yard of the mosque and built a platform. A railing has been put up to prevent disputes between the Musalmans praying inside the mosque and Hindus performing their puja on the platform outside. Near it and at some distance to the north is the Kanakbhawan said to be the palace of Sita. There are in the principal niche two images those of the Blessed Couple that of the Lord being designated the Kanakbhawan Bihari and is one of the finest if not the finest of its kind in Ajodhya. This temple was very small but extremely beautiful in my childhood but a magnificent edifice was erected twenty-five years ago by the Maharaja of Tikamgarh in Bundelkhand at a great cost.

We now pass on to the historical temple in the old town. This is the Treta ke Thakur. This was reproduced near the old ruins by the Raja of Kulu in the Punjab who was probably the progenitor of the present Thakurs of Janoura described before and improved afterwards by the famous queen of Indore, Ahalya Bai.

It is said that the ruined mosque known as the Nourangshah, marked the site of the old temple of Ram Darbar. This temple has not yet been restored.

Coming to the banks of the river the first shrine to the west is temple of Lakshmanji on the Lakshmanghat where Lakshman is said to have gone to heaven. The image in the temple is not the ordinary

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white likeness of Lakshman but a black four armed idol about five feet high. This was found in the *kund* or deep pool of water below and was originally believed to that of the goddess Kali. It bears however a chakra or discus in the hand and it was therefore decided to be that of Lakshman who is believed to be an incarnation of Shesha the Serpent who supports the earth and is therefore black. In the festival of Nagpanchmi, a native of Ajodhya instead of worshipping an ordinary Naga makes the customary offerings of milk and parched paddy (lawa khil) to the Lakshman here.

Walking along the beautiful Ghat and stone steps built by Raja Darshansinha, we come to the historical Nageshwarnath, the shrine which next after Sarju afforded the clue to Vikramaditya in tracing Ajodhya. It is a very old Siva shrine and the image is believed to have been installed here by Kusa, son of Lord Rama when his amulet was lost in the river, reached the Patala, was picked up by Kumudwati, daughter of the Ruler of Naga Loka and Siva came to effect a reconciliation between the offending Naga and the enraged Kusa, who directed Siva to settle down here and ordained that no religious merit will accrue to the pilgrim to Ajodhya unless and until he worshipped Nageshwar.

A temple near Nageshwar adjoining it in the lane to the north is also of some interest as it contains a large block of black stone with four images of the four brothers with that of Sita in the middle. This image said to have originally belonged to the temple of Janmasthan and after its destruction by Babur was carried away by pious Hindus and finally installed here.

Coming to the mainroad we pass along various temples, the Victoria park and shrine of Dharmahari at some distance to the left, the old school where I received my elementary education now called the Maharaja's Kacheri the temple of Shish-mahal, built by my wife's uncle Rai Debi Prasad seventy-five years ago. Reaching the Kotwali and proceeding towards south-east will be found the market known as the Sringarhat and the palace of Maharaja.

In the garden to the south of the main building stands a beautiful Sivalaya built by Raja Darshansinha after whom it is called the Darshaneshwar, about seventy years ago. "There is nothing more artistic in that line in modern Oudh. It is dedicated to Mahadeo, and is of finely-cut Chunar stone, most of the figures and ornaments having been prepared at and brought from Mirzapur. The idol is a fine bloodstone from the Narbada, which cost Rs. 250 there. The marble images, are from Jaipur. The splendidly large tone bell was cast here, from a model which was injured on its way from Nepal; it is a credit to local art." (Oudh Gazetteer, p. 12).

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In the open space to the south of the walled enclosure of the temple is the Tulsi Chaura, a raised platform making the spot where the great Tulsidas dwelt more than three hundred years ago.

At less than a mile further to the south is the Maniparbat. General Cunningham describes the Maniparbat as an artificial mound sixty-five feet in height, covered with broken bricks and blocks of kankar. The common people in these days call the mound the Orajhar or Jhawa-jhar both expressions indicating basket-shakings of the labourers who built Ramkot.....This mound General Cunningham points out as the 'stupa, of Asoka, two hundred feet in height built on the spot where Buddha preached the law during his six years' of residence here. That officer infers that the earthen or lower part of the mound may belong to the earlier ages of Buddhism, and that the masonry part was added by Asoka. "Hindus however piously believe that when Hanuman was sent back from Ceylon to the Himalayas to bring thence a healing herb for Lachhman's wound, he brought with him a whole mountain in order to make certain of his errand, and a portion of this broke off and fell in Ajodhya. A second account, which is the locally accepted tradition, states that the mound was made by Rama's labourers who, when returning home in evening cleaned their baskets at this spot; hence the name Orajha: or basket shaking." (Fyzabad Gazetteer, p. 177).

The Datunkund to the east of Hanumangarhi has already been described.

Another place of interest is the Sonkhar. Readers of Raghuvansa must know that King Raghu had to pay a lot of gold to a Brahman after his treasury had been emptied in the Vish wajit-yajna, and made up his mind to invade Kuvera to compel him to pay the required gold. The alarmed god rained gold at night at this spot.

Ajodhya is likewise considered sacred by the Jains and is the birth place of five Tirthankarats. The first of these and the founder of the sect was Adinath, also called Rishabhanath, also Adisarjidwal and Rikhabdeva. This Jina was thirteen times incarnate the last time in the family of Iksbawaku of the Solar race, when he was born at Ayodhya,—his father's name being Nabhi, and his mother's Mirn. He died at Mount Abu where one of the finest temples in the world was built in his honour by Vimalshah in 1032 A. D. at a cost of 20 crores. Ajitnath the second son of these Jenas, Abhinandananath, the fourth and Sumantanath, the fifth, were born at Ajodhya and died at Parasnanath, Chandraprabha the eighth, was born at Chandripur, the local name of Sahet Mahet (Bahraich), and died also at Parasnath, as did Anantanath, the fourteenth, born at Ajodhya. Temples now exist at Ajodhya dedicated to the five hierarchs, born there, of which details are given below :—

No. 1. To Adinath, the first hierarch. This is situated in the Mursi Tola, near Swargdwar, on a mound on which there are many tombs and

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a mosque. It is half-way up the mound, and the key is kept by a Musalman who lives close by. This mound is locally called Shah Juran ka Tila from one Makdum Shah Duran Ghori, who came to Ajodhya and destroyed the original temple.

No. 22. To Ajitnath, the second Avatar. This is situated west of the Itaura thank, and contains an idol and inscription. It was built in 1781 V. E., and is surrounded on all sides by cultivation.

No. 3. To Abhinandananath, the fourth Avatar, situated near the Sarai. It contains an inscription.

No. 4. To Sumanthnath, the fifth Avatar, within the limits of Ramkot. In this temple there are two idols of Parasnath, one of the two most popular incarnations, and three of Nemnath. There is an inscription setting forth that the temple was built in Sambat 1781.

No. 5. To Anantanath, the fourteenth Avatar, whose footprint it enshrines. It contains an inscription as in the last case, and is situated on the banks of Golaghat Nala, on the high bank of the Ghogra, a most pictureseque site. (Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. i., p. 8, 9).

My friend and fellow-examiner in the Calcutta University Babu P. C. Nahar informs me that Ayodhya is known as Saketa as also Vinita in Jain writings and that as many as nineteen Kalyanakas of these tirthankars were performed in this holy city.

My description of this ancient city ends here. It is now a small town with no political or commercial importance and the majority of its inhabitants live on the charity of orthodox Hindus. It is however still the holiest place in Upper India and may well repeat the famous lines of our great poet Nasikh slightly modified,

Ewaz-e-mulak-i. Jahan Daulat-i-din hai Nasikh
Go nahin hukm rawan taba rawan rakhte hain.

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Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity. *

By Prof. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Method of Approach.

WE propose to review briefly three great religions of mankind in their historical as well as psychological relations. Let us assume for our present consideration the fact that every religious system advances, in the first place, a set of hypotheses generally known as theological dogmas, in the second place, a body of practices and notions that in the absence of a better term may be called superstitious, and in the third place, a code of moral sanctions. As a rule, it is the higher intellectuals in a community that are interested in the doctrine-of theology, while the man in the street is more attracted by the theatrical, scenic, or anecdotal aspects of God, the soul, and the other world. The morals, however, though they depend in the last analysis on the individual's status in the economic grades or classes of a people, may for ordinary purposes be taken to be the outcome of the people's general consensus of opinion and collective tradition. In a study of comparative religion we must take care to point out exactly which of these three phases of socio-religious life we have singled out for discussion, for it is clear that it would be unscientific to compare the popular superstitions and folk-beliefs of one faith with the metaphysical speculations in which high-browed Doctors of Divinity indulge, in another.

As it is always convenient to proceed from the known to the unknown, we shall begin with Christianity, or rather, use Christ-lore as the peg on which to hang Buddhism and Confucianism *cum* Taoism for analytical and historical investigation. And instead of dealing with abstractions we would appraise each of these world religions in its concrete embodiments.

Christ-lore in History.

Dante, the greatest poet-saint-mystic of Roman Catholicism, was very much agitated over the "she-wolf," the moral and political muddle of his time. He use to predict the advent of a "Greyhound," a "Veltro," or deliverer, who would restore on earth the Universal Italian Empire, both temporal and spiritual. His prophecy finds expression in several eloquent passages of the *Divine Comedy*. Thus Virgil, the "master and guide" of the poet, gives the following hope in the first canto:

"This beast
At whom thou criest, her way will suffer none
To pass, and no less hindrance makes than death :
To many an animal in wedlock vile
She fastens, and shall yet to many more,

* A lecture delivered at Amherst College.

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Until that Greyhound come, who shall destroy
Her with sharp pain. He will not life support
By earth nor its base metals, but by love,
Wisdom, and virtue ; and his land shall be
The land 'twixt either Feltro. In his might
Shall safety to Italia's plains arise,
For whose fair realm Camilla, virgin pure,
Nisus, Euryalus, and Turnus fell."

The same apocalyptic faith in a *yoogavatara* or god incarnate in man has maintained the optimistic Hindu in all ages of national distress. The advent of Messiahs to embody each successive *Zeitgeist* is thus guaranteed in the *Geeta* by Lord Krishna himself:

"Whensoever into Order
Corruption creeps in, Bharata,
And customs bad ascendant be,
Then Myself do I embody.
For the advancement of the good
And miscreants to overthrow
And for setting up the Order
Do I appear age by age."

Medieval Christianity did not produce only one *Divine Comedy*. Each of the Gothic cathedrals of thirteenth-century Europe is a *Divine Comedy* in stone. It may be confidently asserted that the spiritual atmosphere of these noble structures with their soul-inspiring sculptures in alabaster and bronze has not been surpassed in the architecture of the East. The pillars at Chartres with their basreliefs of images and flowers could be bodily transferred to the best religious edifices of Buddhist Asia. The elongated Virgin at the Paris Notre Dame is almost as conventionalized as a Korean Kwannon. The representation of virtues and vices on the Portal of the Saviour at the Amiens Cathedral suggests the moralizing in woodwork on the walls of Nikko in Japan. And scenes from the Passion on the tympanum at Strassburg or from the Last Judgment on the tympanum of the north door in the Cathedral at Paris are oriented to the same psychological background as the basreliefs depicting incidents in the holy career of Buddha with which the *stoopas* (mounds) of Central India make us familiar, or of the Tibetan Dalai Lama on the surface of the marble pagoda at Peking.

We shall now compare a few specimens of Christian folk customs. On Christmas and New Year days the folks of Christendom are used to forecasting their lot in the coming year according to the character of the first visitor. And what is the burden of their queries? "What will be the weather?' they ask, and "what the crops?" How, besides, are they to "fare in love and the begetting of children ?" And a common superstition among the *Hausfrauen* enjoins that wealth must come in, and not be given out, on these days. Such days and such notions a renouncer in Confucian Taoist and Buddhistic Asia. It is well known,

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further, that in south-west England as well as in parts of continental Europe there are several taboos in regard to food. Hares, rabbits, poultry, for instance, are not eaten because they are "derived from his father," as the peasant believes. There is nothing distinctively Christian in these customs and traditions. Asians can also heartily take part in the processions attending the bathing of images and other customs with which the rural population of Christian lands celebrate their Maypole dances or summer festivities. And they would easily appreciate how men could be transformed into wolves through the curse of St. Natalis Cambrensis.

Would the ritualism, the rosary, the relic-worship, the hagiology, the consecrated edifices, the "eternal" lamps in churches and chapels, pilgrimages, prayers, votive offerings, self-denial during Lent, fasts and chants of Christians alienate Shintoists, Buddhists, or Taoists? By no means. Indeed, there are very few Chinese, Japanese, or Hindus who would not be inspired by the image of Mary. Nations used to the worship of Kwan-yin or Lakshmee could not find a fundamentally new mentality or view of life in the atmosphere of a Greek or Catholic church service. And the doctrine of faith (*bhakti, saddha*), the worship of a personal God, and preparedness for salvation (*mookti*) are not more Christian than Buddhist or Hindu.

Men and women who do not feel safe without postulating a God would produce, if they should happen to be intellectual, almost the same philosophy of the Infinite and of the immortality of the soul wherever they may live. If they happen to be emotional or imaginative, as human beings generally are, they would create more or less the selfsame religious arts (images, pictures, basreliefs, hymns, prayers, rituals, fetishes, charms). Humanity is, in short, essentially one—in spite of physical and physiognomic diversities, and in spite of age-long historic race-prejudices. The effort to understand the nature of God or the relations between man and Deity is the least part of a person's real religion. The *elan vital* of human life has always and everywhere consisted in the desire to live and in the power to flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and by utilizing the innumerable world forces.

Confucianism and Buddhism Analyzed.

But before we proceed further it is necessary to have definite connotations of the terms Confucianism and Buddhism, so that we may know precisely to what phenomena they correspond in Christianity. For the terms are really ambiguous and elastic.

In the first place, Confucianism is the name wrongly given to the cult of public sacrifices devoted to Shangti (the One Supreme Being), the Tao (or the Way), and ancestor-worship that has been obtaining among the Chinese people since time immemorial. This cult of what is

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really an adoration of nature forces happens to be called Confucianism simply because Confucius (B. C. 551-479), the librarian at Loo State in Shantung, compiled or edited for his countrymen the floating ancient classics, the *Yi-king* (Book of Changes), the *Shoo-king* (Book of History), the *Shih king* (Book of Poetry), and others in which the traditional faith finds expression. The work of Confucius for China was identical with that of Ezra (B. C. 450) of Juda who edited for the Hebrews the twenty-four books of the Old Testament that were in danger of being lost. In this sense, to use the misnomer, Confucianism had existed among the Chinese long before Confucius was born, in the same manner as the Homeric poems had been in circulation in the Hellenic world ages before Pisistratus of Athens had them brought together in well-edited volumes.

In the second place, Confucianism is often considered as not being a religion at all, because it is wrongly taken to be equivalent to positivism, i. e., a godless system of mere morals, and hence necessarily inadequate to the spiritual needs of man. The fact, however, is quite otherwise. The Socratic sayings of Confucius that are preserved in the *Analects*, in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and other treatises, have indeed no reference to the supernatural, the unseen, or the other world. The fallacy of modern sinologues consists in regarding these moralizings as the whole message of China's superman. Strictly speaking, they should be treated only as parts of a system which in its entirety has a place as much for the gods, sacrifices, prayers, astrology, demonology, tortoise worship, divination, and so forth, of Taoist China as for the purely ethical conceptions of the duty toward one's neighbour or the ideal relations between human beings.

Thirdly, this alleged positivism or atheism of Confucius, and the pre-Confucian religion of ancient China which for all practical purposes was identical with the polytheistic nature-cult of the earliest Indo-Germanic races, have to be sharply distinguished from another Confucianism. For since about the fifth century A. D. the worship of Confucius as a god has been planted firmly in the Chinese consciousness and institutions. This latter-day Confucius cult is cult of nature forces affiliated to the primitive Shangti cult, Heaven cult, Tai (mountain) cult, etc., of the Chinese. In this Confucianism Confucius is a god among gods.

Similarly in Buddhism also we have to recognize two fundamentally different sets of phenomena. There are two Buddhisms essentially distinct from each other. The first is the religion or system of moral discipline founded by Shakya (B. C. 563-483), the son of the president or archon (*raja*) of the Sakiya republic in eastern India, who came to be called the Buddha, or the Enlightened (the Awakened). Shakya founded

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an order (*samgha*) of monks, and adumbrated the philosophy of the twelve *nidanas* (links between ignorance and birth) and the ethics of the Eightfold Path. In this branch of Buddhism, which should really be called Shakyaism, Buddha is of course neither a god nor a prophet of God, but only a preacher among the preachers of his time. The system is generally known as Hinayana or the Lesser Vehicle of Buddhism. Its most prominent tenet is that of Nirvana or the cessation of misery (annihilation of pain).

But there is another faith in which Buddha is *a* or rather *the* god. This Buddha cult, or Buddhism strictly so called, cannot by any means be fathered upon Shakya, the moralist. It chanced to evolve out of the schisms among his followers. Buddha worship was formulated by Ashvaghosha and came into existence as a distinct creed about the first century A. D. in north-western India, during the reign of Kanishka, the Indo-Tartar emperor. This faith, also called Mahayana (the Greater Vehicle), was theologically much allied to, and in ritual and mythology did not really differ from, the contemporary Jaina and Puranic Hinduisms of India. It is this Buddhism with its gods and goddesses that was introduced from Central Asia into China in A. D. 67, from China into Korea in A. D. 372, and from Korea into Japan in A. D. 552.

The contrast between Shakya the preacher and Buddha the god, or Confucius the moralist and Confucius the god, has its parallel in Christology also. Modern criticism expresses this contrast, says Bacon in *The Making of the New Testament*, in its distinction of the Gospel *of* Jesus from the Gospel *about* Jesus. The distinction between Shakyaism and Buddhism, or between Confucianism as the system of tenets in the body of literature compiled by Confucius, and Confucianism in which Confucius figures as a divinity on a footing with Shangti, is the same in essence as that between the teachings of Jesus the Jew and the teachings, say, of St. Paul about Jesus the Christ who is God in man.

The Doctrine of Avatara (Deification of Man).

The incarnation myths of the *Ramayana* and similar legends of the *Jatakas* (Birth Stories) must have developed as early as the epoch of Maurya imperialism (B. C. 322-185). While the poets of the Rama legend sang, "For Vishnu's self disdained not mortal birth. And heaven came with him as he came to earth," and Krishna proclaimed in the *Geeta* section of the *Mahabharata*, "Forsake all *dharmas* (ways, *taos*, creeds), make Me alone thy way," the sculptors of India were carving basreliefs to represent scenes in the life of Shakya deified as the Buddha. The post-Asokan but pre-Christian sculptures at Bharhut (second century B.C.) leave no doubt as to the prevalence of a faith in Buddha whose birth was believed to be supernatural and whose career was to anticipate ideologically the holy ministrations of the Syrian Messiah. Effective, the mind

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of India had become used to such emphatic pronouncements as the following:

"I am the Father, and the fostering Nurse,
Grandsire, and Mother of the Universe,
I am the Vedas, and the Mystic word.
The way, support, the witness, and the Lord.
The Seed am I, of deathless quickening power,
The Home of all, the mighty Refuge-tower."

The Buddha cult was thus born and nurtured in a perfectly congenial atmosphere.

The Pauline doctrine of Jesus as an *avatara*, *i.e.*, god incarnate in man, was also quite in keeping with the spiritual milieu of the age, rife as it was with the notion of redeemer-gods. Here an Osiris, there a Mithra was commanding the devotion of the civilized world as a god who was resurrected after death to save mankind. Parallel to the development in Iran which transformed Zarathustra from the man-prophet-singer of the *Gathas* into a supernatural and semidivine figure, there was in Israel the continuous and progressive re-interpretation of traditional beliefs and symbols, as Canon Charles points out in the *Religious Development Between the Old and New Testaments*. From the third century B.C. on, as a consequence, whole histories centered round such conceptions as soul, spirit, Sheol, Paradise, Messianic Kingdom, the Messiah, the Resurrection. The idea of the Redeemer was taking definite shape, for instance, in the following verses of the *Psalms of Solomon* composed about the first century B.C.:

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them
Their King, the son of David,
At the time in which thou seest, O God,
That he may reign over Israel Thy servant,
And gird him with strength that he may
Shatter unrighteous rulers
And that he may purge Jerusalem from
Nations that trample her down to destruction."

In India the rhapsodists of the Valmikian cycle were singing of the advent of the Messiah as Rama, and Shakyan monks elaborating the Buddhist stories of incarnation (*Jataka*) in the selfsame strain. Nor was China to be left without an *avatara* or a deified human personality. In the fourth century B.C., Mencius, the St. Paul of Confucianism, calls his great master *chita-cheng*, or "the embodiment of highest perfection. Three hundred years after his death, Confucius was made duke and earl. Sze Ma-chien, the Chinese Herodotus (first century B.C.), describes him as the "divinest of men." But by the end of the first century A.D. the birthplace of Confucius had become a goal for the pilgrim, and even emperors wended their way thither to pay their respects at his shrine. In A.D. 178, says Giles in *Confucianism and Its Rivals*, a likeness of Confucius had been placed in his

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shrine as a substitute for the wooden tablet in use up to that date. In 267 an imperial decree ordered the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and an ox to Confucius at each of the four seasons. The first complete Confucian temple was built and dedicated in 505. About 555 it was enacted that a Confucian temple should be built in every prefectural city, for the people had come to "look upon Confucius as a god to be propitiated for the sake of worldly advantages."

This heroification and deification of Confucius was not an isolated phenomenon in the Chinese world, for China was also simultaneously transforming Lao-tze, his senior contemporary, into a divinity. The Taoist writers had begun to describe their great prophet as an incarnation of some superior being coming among men in human shape in every age. They also told the various names under which he appeared, from the highest period of fabulous antiquity down to as late a time as the sixth century, making in all seven periods.

Indeed, the spiritual experience of the entire human race was passing through almost the same climacteric. Zoroastrianism was evolving Mithraism, Chinese classics were evolving the worship of Confucius and Lao-tze, Hinduism was evolving the Buddha cult, Krishna cult, Rama cult, etc., and Judaism was in the birth-throes of the Christ cult.

Rapprochement in Religious Psychology.

How much of this common element in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity was the "joint product" of the same socio-religious antecedents? How much again was autochthonous in China, India, and Asia Minor, *i. e.*, absolutely independent of mutual influence? The question of the indebtedness of one race to another in metaphysics and religion cannot be solved satisfactorily for want of positive evidence. But the historic background was unified and internationalized enough to admit of an extraordinary fusion of cultures. One theatre of such cultural intermixture was Central Asia. Here, during the early centuries of the Christian era, police notices were written in Chinese, the letters being inscribed in a form of Sanskrit. But the strings with which the wooden tablets were tied were sealed mostly with Greek seals bearing the image of Athena or Heracles. Here, then, as Laurence Binyon remarks in *Painting in the Far East*, we touch three great civilizations at once: India, Greece, China.

This race-fusion or cultural intermarriage must have been in full swing while the incarnation-myth of the Hindus, Jews, and Chinse were in the period of gestation, *i. e.*, during the last three centuries of the pre-Christian era. For, conscious and deliberate internationalism was the distinctively original contribution of Alexander to the civilization of Eur-Asia. The whole epoch beginning with his accession to the throne may be said to have been one in which [illegible] were being

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obliterated, cultural angularities rounded off, intellectual horizons enlarged, and the sense of universal humanity generated. It was a time when Platonists, Aristotelians, Cynics, and Stoics were likely to meet apocalyptists. Zoroastrians, Confucianists, Taoists, Nirvanists, and Yogaists on a common platform, when the grammarians and logicians of Alexandria were probably comparing notes with the Hindu Paninians and Darshanists, when the Charakan Ayoorvedists (medical men) of India could hold debates with the herbalists of Asia Minor, when, in one word, culture was tending to be developed not from national angles but from one international view-point and placed as far as possible on a cosmopolitan basis.

The courses of instruction offered at the great universities of the world, *e. g.*, those of Honanfu, Taxila, Patalipootra, the Alexandrias, and Athens, naturally comprehended the whole encyclopedia of arts and sciences known to both Asia and Europe. The literati, *bhikshoos*, *magi*, and *sanyasins* of the East could not fail to meet the mystics, sophists, gnostics, and peripatetics of the West at out-of-the-way inns or caravansaries or at the recognized academies and seats of learning. What we now describe as a "'Universal Races' Congress" and international conferences of scientists may then have been matters of course; and everybody who was anybody—Hindu, Persian, Chinese, Jew, Egyptian, Greek—was necessarily a student of *Weltliteratur* and a citizen of the world. The social systems of the different races who were thrown into that whirlpool were profoundly influenced by this intellectual expansion. Interracial marriages may be believed to have been things of common occurrence, and everywhere there was a *rapprochement* ideals of life and thought. Mankind was fast approaching a common consciousness, a common conscience, and a common standard of civilization.

One of the forms in which this uniform psychological development of the different races was manifesting itself consisted in the elaboration of great exemplars," *avataras*, or "supermen." The types of ethical and spiritual "perfection," *i. e.*, the highest ideals and norms in human personality that, during the preceding centuries, had been slowly acquiring prominence in India, in the Hellenistic world, and in China, at last began to crystallize out of the solution of race-experience, and emerge as distinctly individualized entities. The world forces or nature powers of the antique world, *viz.*, Mother Earth and the elemental energies, furnished no doubt the basic foundations and the nuclei for these type or patterns. Folk-imagination in brooding over the past and reconstructing ancient traditions had sanctified certain historic personalities, legendary heroes, or eponymous culture pioneers, and endowed their names with a halo of romance. Philosophical speculation had been groping in the dark as to the mysteries of the universe and had stumbled upon the One, the Unknown, the Eternal, the Absolute, the Infinite,

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the Ideal. Last but not least, are the contributions, of "the lover, the lunatic, and the poet"—the Luke, the John, the Mencius, the Valmiki, the Ashvaghosha—who came to weld together all these elements into artistic shapes, "fashioning forth" those "sons of God"—concrete human personalities to embody at once the man-in-God and the God-in-man.

The Ethical Postulates of China, India, and Christendom.

The ethical conceptions of a race are bound up so inextricably with its economic and social institutions that for all practical purposes they may be regarded as almost independent of its strictly religious thought, its theological doctrines, and the hypotheses of its prophets or thinkers regarding the nature of the Godhead, the soul, and the relation between man and the Creator. While, therefore, the "whole duty of man" is sure to differ with race and race, may, with class and class, and also with epoch and epoch in each race and in each class, it is still remarkable that the most fundamental categories of moral life all the world over have been the same. The ethical systems of historic Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity are broad-based on almost identical notions of the Good and the Right.

But here it is necessary to make a few special remarks about Confucianism. In the first place, suggestive sex ideas associated with such concepts as the "immaculate conception" in Christ-lore, or energy" (*shakti*, the female "principle") in Buddhist mythology, have absolutely no place either in the *Classics* compiled by Confucius the man, or in the religion in which Confucius is a god. From the standpoint of conventional morality, Confucianism is the most chaste and undefiled of the great world-religions.

In the second place, one must not argue from this that the Chinese mentality is what Confucius presumes it to be, for China is not merely Confucius magnified. Every Chinese is a Confucianist, and yet something more. Like the Japanese who is at once a believer in Shinto (the "Way of the Gods," a polytheistic cult of nature forces) and a Buddhist, so the men and women of China, almost each and all, are Taoists (followers of Lao-tze's mystical cult) and Buddhists at the same time that they offer sacrifices to Confucius and Shangti. When the head of the family dies, says Wu Ting-fang, the funeral services are conducted in a most cosmopolitan way, for the Taoist priest and Buddhist monks as well as nuns are usually called in to recite prayers for the dead in addition to the performance of ceremonies in conformity with the Confucian rules of propriety. The *mores* of Chinese life, eclectic as it is, cannot thus all be found in the teachings of the *Classics* alone.

One need not be surprised, therefore, to find in the Chinese *Weltanschaung* a place for the pessimism that one meets with in the pronouncements of Jesus. "He that loveth father and mother more than he is

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not worthy of me," said he. And further, "If any man cometh unto me, and leaveth not his father and mother and wife and children, he cannot be my disciple." Here is the origin of the system that, backed by St. Paul's recommendation of celibacy for Christ's followers, ultimately developed into Christian monasticism and the ethics of retreat from the "world and the flesh." The selfsame doctrine of holiness by means of asceticism and self-mortification has had a long tradition in pre-Confucian China as well as in China since the age of Lao-tze and Confucius. Even in the earliest ages of Chinese history perfection, holiness, or divinity were held to be exclusively attainable by dispassion, apathy, will—lessness, unconcernedness about the pleasures and pains of life, quietism, or *wu-wei*. Emperor Hwang-ti of hoary antiquity is mentioned by Chwang-tze (fourth century B. C.), the great follower of Lao-tze, as having retired for three months in order to prepare himself for receiving the Tao from an ascetic who practised freedom from mental agitation.

Along with this pessimistic strand of Christianity, Chinese moral consciousness can also display the mystical leanings of Jesus as manifest in such declarations as "The Kingdom of God is within you," or "My Kingdom is not of this world." Thus, says Chwang-tze, "Be free yourself from subjective ignorance and individual peculiarities, find the Tao in your own being, and you will be able to find it in others too, because the Tao cannot be one in one thing and another in another." And according to the *Tao Teh King*, the Bible of Taoism, "mighty is he who conquers himself." Further, "If you keep behind, you shall be in front," or "He who is content has enough." These are the tenets of passivism and non-resistance that Jesus stood for when he advised his followers to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

We need not dwell on the ascetic or pietistic ideals and institutions of Buddhism, as the Plotinuses, the St. Francises, the Jacopone da Todis, the Boehmes, the Ruysbroeks, and the Guyons of India are too well-known. We have rather to emphasize, on the other hand, the fact that transcendentalism, idealism, or mysticism is not the only attitude or philosophy of ethical life advanced by, or associated with, the religious systems of the world. Not less is the ethics of positivism, *i.e.*, of humanitarian energism (*viriya*) and social service or brotherhood (*sarva-sattva-maitree*), a prominent feature in Buddhism, in Christianity, and in the moral dicta of Chinese sages like Confucius, Moh-ti, the preacher of universal love, and Mencius, the advocate of tyrannicide. There is no doubt a great difference in the manner in which the categories have been stated in the three systems, especially as regards the intellectual analysis or psychological classification of the cardinal virtues and vices. But from the view-point of moral discipline, none but a hidebound linguist or a student of formal logic can decide the pragmatic

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identity of life governed by the "Eightfold Path" of Shakya, the "Five Duties" of Confucius, and the "Ten Commandments" of the Bible. Nay, like the Mosaic dictates, the Confucian and Shakyan principles are too elementary to have been missed by the prophets of any race.

The most important tenet in Confucius's moral creed is to be found in the idea of "reciprocity." It is thus worded in his *Doctrine of the Mean*: "What you do not wish others should do unto you, do not do unto them." In a negative form this is indeed the golden rule of Luke: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." In any treatment of fellow-beings Shakya's injunction also is "to put oneself in the place of others" (*attanam upamam katva*). We read in the *Dhammapada*:

"All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death: Putting yourself in the place of others, kill not nor cause slaughter.

All men tremble at the rod, all men love life. Doing as you would be done by, kill not nor cause to kill."

Reciprocity is thus the common golden rule of the three world-religions.

The formulation of this rule was the distinctive contribution of Confucius to Chinese life. His catechism of moral discipline points out, further, that the duties of universal obligation are five, and the moral qualities by which they are carried out are three. The duties are those between ruler and subject, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those in the intercourse between friends. Intelligence, moral character, and courage, these are the three universally recognized moral qualities of man. The performance of these duties is the *sine qua non* of "good manners." In the Confucian system the tenet of reciprocity leads thus to the cult of "propriety." In the Shakyan discipline also we have the same propriety in the doctrine of *seela* ("conduct"). The path leading to cessation of misery is described in the *Digha Nikaya* as consisting in right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behavior, right occupation, right effort, right contemplation, and right concentration. It is obvious that some of the conditions stated here, especially those in regard to speech, behavior, and occupation, are "other-regarding," i, e., have a social significance in the system of self-culture,

Lest the social energism of Shakyan morals be ignored, it is necessary to point out that *appamada*, or vigilance, strenuousness, and activity, is the first article in the Buddhist monk's creed of life, "By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control," says Shakya in the *Dhammapada*, "the wise man may make for himself an island that no flood can overwhelm...Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer leaving behind the hack... The mendicant who delights in earnestness and looks with fear on thoughtlessness moves about like fire burning all his fetters small and large." It is moral and intellectual gymnasts such as these, "moving about like fire," that built the first hospitals of the world for men and animals, established rest-houses and planted trees for wayfarers, popularized the trial by jury and the methods of election, voting, quorum, etc., in democratic assemblies, and founded universities, academies and other seats of learning in India, China, and Japan.

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Need for Home-Rule in Education.

By Pt. CHAND NARAYAN ZUTISHI, M. R. A. S.

UNLIKE the Shakesperean mercy English education in India has been a double curse cursing him that gave and him that received. To the latter it has resulted in the loss of his traditional religion, morality and culture—still more the wider diffusion of its too liberalizing an influence killing the ancient spirit of sexual disparities has introduced many a dark scandal in the Indian society—and to the former it has been a cruel rock upon which have been shipwrecked his passionate hopes to create an all-pervading monopoly in administrative and social distinctions. Thus "even-handed justice commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice to our own lips." All this has been, as an Anglo-Indian openly declared to me some years ago, due to the initial mistake the English made in educating the Indians. That generous impulse of Lord Macaulay which first prompted England to impart to the Indians the knowledge of Western literature and science through the medium of English language was the germ of the evils grown thick and waxen fat during the last century. Though many bacteriologists have of late tried to discover that dangerous education bacillus and suggested remedies under the cloak of educational theories encouraging or discouraging higher education for repairing the damage already done by that one praiseworthy mistake, yet none has been so generous in putting his finger on the right spot and given so convincing a proof of his sincere efforts in the cause of the country as that able Sir John Woodroffe from whose recent essay on Indian educations.—The Seed of Race—I adopt the present article more with a view to give a wider publicity to his views in a form more easily accessible to the reading public than for any purpose of self-complacency or claiming any originality. I have had the pleasure of being profited by his another publication—Is India civilized?—and feel bound to appreciate and thank him for his great contribution to the cause of our country. Sir John's keen insight into the things Indian coupled with his knowledge of Sanskrit renders him an authority on the subject, and add to this, the command of his own language stands him in good stead in the lucid exposition of all that is unquestionably of high value in Indian culture and civilization.

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The question of Indian education is approached here from the standpoint of the loss India has suffered with regard to her ancient culture to ascertain why she failed to preserve her racial culture and how it is possible to make amends for the past and hope for a bright future. In order to do this we have to go deeper into the things and bear in mind that just as a human being possesses the Spirit of Life and the material body—the former constant and unchanging while the latter subject to change, so there is also the spirit of the race, 'Sangskara,' or the general national character and the particular and transient forms otherwise known as 'institutions and customs'- the one more enduring and the other more changing under the stress of time and space or of certain external causes affecting the race. Thus education if it can be of any good to the race it is given it must be suited to foster that which is enduring in that particular race. Similarly if education has to bring forth anything, as it ought to literary, in the case of Indians it must bring forth the Indian 'Sangskara'; it must *prima facie* give it a free full play and then develope it rightly. English education has exercised a choking influence on the Indian 'Sangskara' much in the same way as the heap of rubbish does a shooting plant. The root cause why English education in India has been a failure so far as rightly indicated by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his recent book, The Center of Indian Culture. Dr. Tagore says:—"The conditions of one country are never quite the same as those in another. Britain's educational policy in Ireland may not exactly resemble her policy in India. But there is at least one vital point of similarity in regard to the result—our mind is not in our studies. In fact it has been wholly ignored that we have a mind of our own. That is to say, the engineering feat of skill in digging the canal with its numerous locks and bunds, has been marvellous and the cost considerable —only the water refuses to flow through. The engineers condemn the water for its obstreperousness; we take the side of the water and condemn the engineers. In the meanwhile the great gaping gulf remains arid. Let me say in a whisper behind the backs of these irate engineers that the natural drainage of the country has been tempered with and the country is taking the revenge."

This brings us to the second part of our enquiry, *viz.*, how best to bring forth the Indian 'Sangskara' and foster its growth, which involves the need for home-rule in education. There

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can be no doubt that there are some fundamental characteristics and typical out-look on life, which clearly distinguish the people of one race from all others. These racial distinctions must be accounted for in the educational system of a country. Far from it, education in India has been and is given generally by Englishmen and English educated Indians who are worse than their masters and who imbibing their master's ways of living and habits form a great contrast in their mode of thinking, habits and even character to those whom they teach. This state of things could not and cannot help in fostering the Indian 'Sangskara' or the national character. What is now desired is the increased number of Indians who are not aping fine gentlemen but models of typical Indians to give what is called a 'national education' an education suited to the needs of the people. It is a mockery to see an Englishman teaching Indian religion, philosophy, art and literature which can best be appreciated by an Indian alone, and it is natural that he should glory in what his race has produced. Then the objective sciences have never been taught with reference to Indian questions or to the facts of Indian life; a knowledge picked up from English Text-books based on the conditions of English life does no good to the Indians in this work-a-day world. Still more important is the question of Indian culture which should not be neglected as has been the case in the past but should be given a co-ordinate rank with the English language and culture which I am by no means opposed to. It is certainly injurious to neglect this aspect of the question in determining what education would be most suited to the needs of the people we have to educate. I am inclined to think that this happy mingling of the Western and Eastern cultures in the educational system of the country, if properly managed, will be one sovereign remedy for removing the ills of the past, and besides teaching the Indians what is of worth in the West, will help them a long way to value their cultural inheritance and realise their own 'selves.' The Indians will then be able to follow the suit of Japan and assimilate foreign food to their advantage and preserve their traditional religion and civilization. Japan has become a powerful nation not by becoming a more 'sedulous ape' of a foreign civilization, but by judiciously mingling the elements of her ancestral culture with the good ones of the West. It is through this process of her making that Japan in the course of half a century has become a great power whose friendship is sought by the other great powers of the world and whose enmity no one dares to provoke.

To sum up therefore if India desires to attain to that pinacle of glory and become an independent source of light in the world confident of her past contribution to world culture, she must claim home-rule in education—a claim by no means unlawful—and in proportion the spirit of the Indian peoples acquires power to express itself the need for acquiring control by the Indians over the education of their country becomes urgent and inevitable.

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THE

Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically, or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism, As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever be enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

Punjabi Poetry.

PUNJABI poetry, which is poetry written by Punjabis in the Punjabi language as distinguished from poetry written by Punjabis in Hindi, Urdu or any other language, is a poetry not of a very high order. Most of it would not, I am afraid, stand the test whereby real poetry is to be differentiated from ordinary verse. No doubt, on occasions, in a study of it, we come across what may be called a genuine poeticdea. But it is, except in few cases, not sustained. It illumines the page for a second, then disappears immediately, leaving us in the twilight of something which is quite prosaic and sometimes has not got any connection with what precedes it and what follows it.

The fact of the matter is that the Punjabi poetic art is in an early stage of development ; the Punjabi language is crude and undeveloped ; the Punjabi poets do not seem, so far as we can see, to have had much of education. Their intellect is therefore not very well trained and their mental horizon is limited. These circumstances along with the extreme popularity of verse as a form of writing go to make Punjabi poetry what it is—a second rate poetry.

The Punjabi poetic art is not difficult to understand. Its chief aim seems to be rhyme And no stone is left unturned to secure it. Even sense is sometimes sacrificed at its altar. For the rest, the construction is

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simple, the language is easy; the thoughts are plain, direct and immediate; and the themes are conventional and steriotyped. A limited number of stories (chiefly romantic stories) and subjects which had had their origin perhaps with our great ancestors have ever since been many a time repeated by different writers of course in their own words, though without any great change in the subject matter.

The chief feature of Punjabi poetry, the one that permeates the whole of it, is that it is lyrical. Written not by learned men for learned men, but by a set of simple and not very literate persons for a people as simple and mostly illiterate, it is not meant to be read upon the page. One cannot enjoy it and it cannot have its due force unless it is sung or at least read in a sing-song manner. It is, therefore, that we witness the spectacle, so common in the Punjab villages, of a crowd surrounding a professional bard or one of their own folk: the former sings to them to the accompaniment of the *sarangi* and the *dholak* and the latter recites to them in a sing-song manner the love-tales of the Punjabi ideal lovers such as Hir and Ranjha, Sohni and Mahwal Mirza and Saihiban or the pathetic stories of the Punjabi ideal sons—Puran Bhagat, Rup and Basant.

For the purposes of this paper Punjabi poetry may be divided into (1) That which is narrative and (2) That which is lyrical. The lyrical element, it must be clear from the foregoing paragraph, is not absent from the first. But in it, it does not dominate the field as it does in the second. The Punjabi narrative poetry is narrative first and lyrical next; the Punjabi lyrical poetry is lyrical and nothing else.

1. The Punjabi narrative poetry describes the love-stories or other tales mentioned above. The love-stories are almost always the product of Muslim genius and the others, which are based upon the faithlessness of a woman to her husband or her jealousy of her step-sons, we owe to Hindu poets. But whatever their basis and whoever their author, these stories give us a glimpse of Punjabi life such as is not to be found in any other piece of literature on the Punjab. In them we see the humble folk in Punjab villages as they live and move and have their being. Their manners, their customs, their superstitious nature, their simple joys, their deep sorrows, are described with a faithfulness all their own. We observe the simple peasant toiling hard in his field while the summer sunshines hot over his head. We witness the village girls sitting in a group, busy with their needles or their spinning-wheels, singing, joking, laughing while the needles run fast and the wheels go round faster. We see the bride decorated in marriage panoply ready to start for her new home in other lands among other people.

All this is painted in life like colours. Nor is the mendicant, who lives to beg and begs to live and has for all practical purposes become a not negligible member of the Indian social economy, left unnoticed. He

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is there. We meet him at odd places, at the village well, in the village entrance gate, before the village houses. We see him beg, command, stare women into awe. We hear him lay claim to having been a *faqir* for the last seven births and say that he is in possession of panacea for all ills.

This type which is very common is contrasted with that other one which is as rare : the genuine yogi, who has renounced the pleasures and riches of the world in order to be better able to attain salvation, is seldom seen near humanity and is always in communion with God. He has washed away all distinctions of *meum* and *tuum* from his mind. He is in the words of a Punjabi poet "neither a *mulla* nor a *kazi*, nor is he willing to read the Vedas. He belongs neither to the earth, nor to water, to fire, nor to wind. In fact, he does not know what he is." But whatever he be, he is certainly one who is responsible for keeping alive the allegiance of Indians to the hypocrite just noticed.

In Punjabi narrative poetry are outlined also the Punjabi woman ideals—both Physical and Spiritual. Physically, she is the picture of beauty and loveliness itself. She has got dark long hair, half encircling a face beautiful like the full moon. Her eyes are large and brilliant like shooting stars. Her nose is straight like an *alaf* الف and her cheeks have got the bloom of a rose. Her lips are red ruby-like and her teeth white like *champa* buds. Her arms are well developed yet soft like butter. She has got the gait of an elephant. In fact she is so very beautiful that she is beyond the power of description of the poet.

Spiritually, her husband is everything to her. He is her *kaaba*, her temple, her place of pilgrimage, her God. She need worship no other divinty. Devotion to him will pave her path to heaven and insure her residence there. Disloyalty to him is sure to result in her being thrown, after death, into the eternal fires of hell.

The conception of love of a Punjabi, rather an Indian woman, is unique. The man whom she marries or is to marry, was ordained for her, when the world came into being. Nay, it was she herself who selected him at that august moment, who bowed towards him, while others bowed to the Creator. Let us listen to Saihiban's reply to her mother when the latter remonstrates with her for having fallen in love with Mirza. She says :—

Listen, O mother mine ! what should I tell Thee ?
If you share my sorrow I may live a little more.
Thoughts about Mirza do not allow me any rest :
Sad is my plight without him.
Listen now the truth, the plain truth
When on the day of creation, the cry arose, 'Am I not your Lord'?
It was then I plighted troth to Mirza
He is mine and I am his, God joined us,
For none but him do I care.

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Adam and Eve had not yet been created
When I was betrothed to Mirza.
Nor was there the heaven, nor earth, nor man, nor angel
Nor were there the stars, nor the sky, nor the sun, nor the moon.
A sort of mist hang around, nor was it open, nor close
In that mist did I see the sparkling Mirza.
When angels bowed in sijda to God,
I bowed to Mirza, and light dawned on me,
I caught hold of his skirts into my hands
And the news spread on heaven and earth everywhere.

In strange contrast with this conception which places the loyalty of an Indian woman to her husband beyond all question we, not seldom, meet in Punjabi poetry the view that woman's professions of faithfulness are only lip-deep, that she is cunning by nature and is not to be trusted. The view is common to both Hindu and Muslim poets. I would not have noticed it but that it is often reiterated by the man in the street as if it were something in which the poets believed and he himself believes. But that he does not put any faith in it is clear from the fact that very few marriages in India are unhappy marriages; and such a belief is sure to sap the very basis of the happiness of a married couple. And that it is not in keeping with the ideas of the poets is evidenced by their books which are a complete vindication of the character of womankind. In this regard an exception may, however, be made of Hindu authors who, as already told, base their stories on the faithlessness or jealousy of a woman. But their motive for doing this in far otherwise than is commonly understood. It is not to show that womankind is bad, but to preach a moral lesson to women by placing before them what bad women did and with what consequences. Of course no one denies that there are bad women in the world as there are bad men. Mohammadan writers generally put such notions into the mouth of a lover who wants to exact, although not in a noble way, from his mistress promises of faithfulness to him for ever and evermore—promises of hearing which lovers never get tired. I give you an example of it. In the story of Hir and Ranjha, when Hir falls in love with Ranjha at, what is called, first sight, she begins to cajole him into responding her passion, by telling him that she is his body and soul. Ranjha, although he is in as bad a predicament, controls himself and in order to dive deep into her soul says:

Tradition does not allow faith in a woman's word. Nor does the Quran which ordains. 'The cunning of woman far exceeds all cunning.'

Satan is the teacher of evil spirits and of women; he teaches them a hundred thousand tricks and they prove true men to be false and put them to shame

No one should trust women, boys and opium eaters,
Waris Shah, if they were to be true to their word, the son of Mihar (Ranjha) becomes a servant.

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Prompt comes the reply from Hir :—

Revile not woman kind, woman burns herself on the funeral pyre,
Who has got a firmer heart than hers? She cares nor for riches nor for estate,
Laila died of pangs of love for Majnun, Sohni was consumed by the same fire.
Zulaikha gave up her kingdom for the sake of Yusuf.
Woman follows man as none else does, caring for neither wealth nor enjoyment.
Sassi became a martyr in a desert, Shirin is only a sister of hers,
Great men are born of women, Eve is the equal of Adam
Man has not a stronger heart than woman, Waris Shah knows it all.

These are some of the fundamental aspects of Punjabi narrative poetry. They are, I believe, common to all Indian poetry excluding, of course, modern poetry—a fact which goes to prove that the heart of India is the same whatever superficial differences may strike a casual observer.

As regards minor features, humour in Punjabi poetry is conspicuous by its absence unless it be in some such lines as the following :—

وارثشاہ سوٹا پیر اُ گڑیاں تگڑیاں دا

Waris Shah, stick is the teacher of the spoilt.

Pun is extravagantly used. This may be due to the limitations of the Punjabi language which has not got a large vocabulary, or to a dawning consciousness of art upon the poets. Probably it is attributable to both. The best example of a pun is given below :—

سوهني ديکهه آني پيٹ پٹ سڈا پٹ سيڈي بال هزار ڈيهي
پٹ چيرسايان ميڈيں ٹوئي بيٹي پٹ تے سٹ او ار ڈيهي

Sohni wept aloud on seeing the torn thigh. She tore out a thousand hairs, and said, 'By cutting your thigh, my lord, you have ruined me. Place at once this bandage over it.

Repetition of the same word is not rare which may be the result of the same two causes.

سوهني تهام ڈها سوهني نيڑي اسڈے سوهني مٹسر نے مور ي چال آهي
سوهني رنگ رخسار انا روانگوں سوهني مکڑے قے سرهني حال آئے
سوهني مال کمال ، راز اسڈے سوهني هونٹ سرخي لالو لال آهے
سوهني سوهني سوهني سي لڑي موتيں دي بال بال آهے

Sohni (beautiful) was her name, beautiful were her eyes and beautiful was her gait like that of a swan or a peacock,
Beautiful was the complexion of her cheeks, red like a pomegranate, and beautiful looked the moles on her beautiful face.
Beautifully long was her hair, and beautiful was the redness of her lips.
O, Fazal, truly beautiful was Sohni, she was a collection of pearls

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I come now to Punjabi lyrical poetry. Punjabi lyrical poetry comprises all the Punjabi songs whether they have been published or are engraved in the memories of the people, especially women. These songs include some of the finest pieces in Punjabi poetry. Alike by the simplicity of their grammatical construction, the melody of their words and the directness of their appeal, they are the chief delight of the Punjabi people and, I, believe of all those who can understand the Punjabi tongue. They appear in a variety of forms. I shall note only three—(1) song-lyric, (2) bait and (3) boli.

Without defining what Punjabi song-lyric is, I give two examples of it and leave it to the reader to judge the worth of it. The first is the picture of a girl standing helpless on the brink of a river, in the middle of a pitch-dark night, the ghastliness of which is enhanced by overhanging clouds and lightning flashes. She has perhaps come to this spot in search of her lover whom she has been unable to find and is now at a loss to know how to get across. The picture is complete. We can see every thing before our eyes and the frequent pauses in the lines show that the girl is trembling and cannot speak easily. The translation is given below :—

Dark is the night with thunders and lightning flashes, who will take me across ?
I am a stranger in this unknown land and none is my friend.
Deep is the stream, no boat is ashore, I am helpless.
Who will hear me in this jungle, even if I were to cry again and again.
This way I look, that way I glance, I can see no one,
Who will give me his hand to catch and take me across.
Unfortunate indeed was the moment when leaving my home, ah !
I travelled far off, and came to this strange land.
The stream is in tumultuous flood; my heart trembles within me.
I fear to set my foot in, I am afraid even at a distance.
Oh God ! to whom shall I cry, I have no sympathiser.
Why should I blame any one, this was my fate ?
O God ! Who can save me ? Thou alone canst.
If I have done any thing wrong, you keep it a secret.
In this dark night, show me the path of light.
The shore to which I am bound, take me there.

The second is the portrait of a girl who has not perhaps heard from her husband for some time. She is requesting, almost bribing, a crow to fly away to him and bring her back news of him. This song is couched in very short lines which show the hurry and impatience in which the girl is to tell so many things to the crow to which it is to bring a reply. Here it is.

Hear me, O crow ! hear,
I'll give you good things to eat
I'll paint you in beautiful colours
If you go to my lord's country.

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Fly away with my message,
Bring me news of my lord
(And) remove all the doubts from my mind
If you go to my lord's country.
In what land does he live?
What pleasures and pains does he experience?
Go and ask him what he has to say
If you go to my lord's country.
Tell him all about me,—
With spices well relished,—
Something what I have told you, something from hearsay
If you go to my lord's country.
(With) this letter tied to your wings,
Put all the questions and get replies,
Ask him this, that, everything,
If you go to my lord's country.

2. A *bait* consists of four lines which generally have something in common with one another or express a common idea. It may treat of anything, but generally it deals with love and the loved one—the joy and sorrow of the first and the beauty and tyranny of the second. It is the favourite of the *gunda* town folk and of the low Mahajan class in villages, who sing it at night or at fairs. I shall translate a few baits to give an idea of its subject matter and form.

1. What was in my mind is still there, my love has fallen out with me for nothing.
I had simply asked her not to speak with others and this for the calmness of my mind.
Her person is always before my eyes, my thoughts never turn to anything else.
If she will not speak to me O Milkhi, I 'll complain to God after death.

2. Have patience and thank God, O fool! these two will take you to your object
Worldly love is full of risks, divine love leads to God;
Nature and love are limitless, none has seen their limits
Barda! a lover has to bear many troubles, as iron is put into fire a hundred times.

3. More beautiful than the moon is her face, why should not lovers celebrate the *Id* on seeing it?
When she speaks her face blossoms into a flower, why should it not be called a garden?
Her lips contain nectar, should not those who kiss them go to heaven?
Her teeth are extremely beautiful, why should not pearls be put to shame by them?

4. Yes, I have tried it, divulging a secret brings disgrace,
Those who divulged the secret of their beloved, had to ride gillotine
Without seeing my beloved, my eyes weep day and night,
Milkhi, the world taunts me and taunts cut me like sword thrusts.

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3. *Boli* is the favourite song of Jats, perhaps because it is the simplest of Punjabi lyrical forms and Jats are the most illiterate of the Punjabi people. It is very difficult to define a *boli*. It is purely a Punjabi thing and may be called a 'catch.' It consists mainly of two lines which by repetition may for the purposes of music be increased to four. Generally the first line tells us of a certain happening and the second of the reason for that happening *e.g.*

1. "I missed the street of my lover,
   The moon went behind a cloud."
2. "Redness troubles my eyes,
   The eyes of my beloved are sore."
3. He jumped into the carriage
   O, the delight of the gauna (second marriage).

A few more examples of this form of Punjabi poetry, I give below and leave the reader to find out what they imply or show.

"In your beard was my nose-flower lost
O you ! with a long beard."
"Do not throw stones at me from the housetop,
Let the moon go down."
"The world lives a merry life
I shall know it when I meet my beloved."
"Where Lachchhi spills water,
Spills water, spills water,
There grows the *Sandal* tree
or (There slip the bachelors)
Where Lachchhi spills water."
4. "Lachchhi is a *Kahar* girl
A *Kahar* girl, a *Kahar* girl,
She is not ashamed of lifting a pitcher,
Lachchhi is a *Kahar* girl."
"Flying dust I see,
Dust I see, dust I see,
I can not see the camel of my lover,
Flying dust I see."

The last three examples show how the main two lines, the first and the third, can be increased to four.

I have now come to the end of this paper and would conclude it with a word about those whose poetry I have reviewed. There is, however, not much to say about Punjabi poets. We know very little about them. But for a few tracts which deal with one or two of the most notable of them, no book that I am aware of has yet been written that can enlighten us on their poetry or their passage through this world. The result has been that they have lain immersed in a darkness which they do not deserve. It is indeed a pity that this should be so. Perhaps when the consciousness of having a national literature of their own

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dawns upon the Punjabi people (and there are signs that it is dawning even now) the Punjabi poets will receive their due recognition and be assigned their proper place in the national library.

The little we know about Punjabi poets is what is gleaned from the poets' own writings. And this is very little indeed. A hint here, a line there, sometimes informs us about their birth place or their religious preceptor. Nothing more is told about their career or the influences that moulded it. There is however one thing about which we are told enough. It is their religion and this may be defined in one word 'love.' The Punjabi poets, the better sort of them, partake more or less of the *sufi* or *vedantic* doctrines. Cant and religious formalities they particularly abhor. Attendance at the mosque or the temple they do not care for. It is not by these that God is to be realized. The means to realizing him is the purification of heart which nothing can bring about but love, unalloyed love. I shall let an exponent of this faith speak for them. It is Bullah Shah, one of the most prominent of the Punjabi poets, who says:—

"New and varied are the delights of love.
"When I learnt the lesson of love, I avoided the mosque and went into my own temple (heart) where one hears a thousand gongs.
New and varied are the delights of love.

"When I found the secret of love, I killed all my desires. My interior and exterio were both swept clean. To whomsoever I looked, I found him none but my beloved.

"New and varied are the delights of love.

"Hir met Ranjha—Hir who was searching for him in jungles. Ranjha is now by her side and she is mad with joy.

"New and varied are the delights of love.

"They got tired of reading the Vedas and the Quran; their foreheads have been worn out by *sijda*. But God is neither in the temple, nor at Mecca. Whosoever has found him, has found him in himself.

"New and varied are the delights of love.

"Burn the *masalla* and break the *lota*; neither tell beads, nor keep stick Lovers proclaim it at the top of their voice.

"Give up the ordanied and eat the prohibited."

"New and varied are the delights of love.

You have wasted your life in the mosque.
You heart is full of dirt.

You have never said the prayer of oneness, why should you weep now?

New and varied are the delights of love.

"Love has made you forget the sijda, why do not you keep silent now. Bullah wants to be silent, but love cries inspite of him.

New and varied are the delights of love.

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BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

Three Important new Books on Asia.

By Mr. J. SUNDERLAND.

ASIA is assuming an enormous new importance in the world All Europe is recognizing this. There are a thousand signs that we in America are also recognizing it. Of course this means that we must have more books about Asia. Fortunately three new volumes of great value have been given to us recently through American publishing houses. One is "The New Map of Asia," by Herbert Adams Gibbons (The Century Co., New York) ; another "The Awakening of Asia," by H. M. Hyndman (Boni and Liveright, New York) ; the third, "The Opium Monopoly," by Helen N. La Motte (Macmillan). All three are interestingly and attractively written ; they give us information up to today ; and they come from authors of standing and give every evidence of being trustworthy.

"THE NEW MAP OF ASIA."

Mr. Gibbons is an American scholar and writer who has had much experience in Turkey, Egypt and the Balkan states, and has written extensively on European, Asiatic and African subjects. In a sense his is a history of Asia during the past twenty years : but it is more than a history ; it is also an interpretation, and it gives us much information of an earlier date than the present century. The period of which it particularly treats is perhaps the most critical in the entire history of the Asiatic continent. The book tells us the amazing story of how nearly three quarters of the continent has been brought into subjection to the nations of the West, has been made virtually a political and economic annex to Europe. It pictures to us graphically and with facts, figures and maps, Russia marching with giant tread to the far off pacific and seizing all northern Asia ; the long attempt of Portugal to obtain Asiatic possessions, which ended in failure ; the various successes and failures of Holland, which ended by giving her colonies in the East Indies seven times as extensive and seven times as popular as our Philippines: France's futile attempts in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to establish a colonial empire in Asia, and in the nineteenth century her seizure of Annam, Tonking and other territory from China and Siam ; the attempt of Russia and Great Britain to partition and appropriate Persia ; Great Britain's conquest of India and other extensive Asiatic lands ;

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the encroachments of the different European nations upon China; the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire; the Rise of Japan, etc.

Mr. Gibbons maintains that Europe's conquests in Asia have had no moral justification. They have all been based upon the principles of the Prussian militarists and of the German Imperial government principles which America fought Germany to destroy. European eminent domain in Asia is the doctrine of the German *Uebermensch* put into practice. To use Mr. Gibbons' words, European dominance in Asia as we see it today cannot be justified "unless one believes either (*a*) that our particular idea of civilization is so essential to the world's happiness and well-being that it must be built up and spread and maintained by force; or (*b*) that so-called superior races have the right to exploit, or at least to direct the destinies of, so-called inferior races; or (*c*) that the bestowal of material blessings upon people is adequate compensation for denying them the right of governing themselves."

Mr. Gibbons' book shows clearly that Asia of right belongs to the Asiatic peoples as truly as Europe of right belongs to the European peoples; that the wars waged by Europe by means of which little by little she has extended her domain and brought Asia into political and economic subjection have been as unjustifiable as would have been similar wars waged by Asia to conquer Europe and reduce her peoples to political and economic subjection; that the subjection of three quarters of the human race to the other one quarter means not only injustice but an unstable equilibrium in the world, and therefore perpetual danger of wars so long as it continues: and that justice, freedom and self rule for the great historic civilized peoples of Asia are a necessity if we are ever to have anything like world peace.

"THE AWAKENING OF ASIA".

Mr. Hyndman is a well-known English writer who for many years has been a recognized authority upon Asia and especially upon India. His book covers somewhat the same ground as that of Mr. Gibbons, but in a different way. The two works supplement and confirm each other. Although Mr. Hyndman deals to some extent with all Asia, he gives his main attention to India, China and Japan

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To Japan he devotes four chapters. These form the least valuable part of his book, because they show prejudice against the Japanese people, prejudice which seems strange in view of the intelligence, justice and fairness with which he treats China and India.

To China he devotes six chapters. These are admirable. In them he tells in a most interesting way the stories of China's long past, of the coming of Christianity to China, of opium in China, of the Boxer Rising and its consequences, of the remarkable reforms which the Emperor Huang Hsu attempted to introduce, and of the rise and growth of the present Republic. One cannot read these illuminating pages without getting a new view of the intelligence and moral strength of the Chinese people, of the value of their civilization, of their remarkable achievements during the past twenty years in driving out opium, in remodelling their whole educational system in harmony with modern principles and ideals, and in setting up a republican government.

China has done great things in the face of enormous difficulties. Mr. Hyndman believes she will accomplish great things in the future. But the difficulties that she still has to meet are stupendous. Her most dangerous enemies are the European powers, which in the past have seized her seaports and great slices of her territory, set up "spheres of influence" within her borders without her consent, forced opium upon her at the cannon's mouth, stolen franchises of priceless value whenever they have desired them, dictated her tariffs, taken control of her taxes, forced loans upon her at their own terms and compelled her to spend them as they commanded, and so on to the end of a long and shameful chapter. The same powers will play the same game in the future if they can. Will China be able to thwart them? Will the moral sentiment of the world support her in her efforts to thwart them?

Coming to India, Mr. Hyndman gives us only three chapters, but they are of considerable length, and on the whole they are the most important in the book. Hardly any other Englishman knows India so well. Every person should read these chapters who wants to become intelligent concerning the real India, the India of a great past and a remarkable civilization, the India that has produced great literatures, great arts and great religions, the life of that for a hundred and fifty years has been

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held in subjection by a foreign power which has exploited her, drained away her wealth, impoverished her, refused to give her education and made her people hewers of wood and drawers of water for her conquerors, and the India that is now protesting to the world against this bondage and is entering upon a tremendous struggle for freedom.

"THE OPIUM MONOPOLY."

Miss La Motte, the author of this work, is an American writer, who for several years has been devoting herself to studies of the Orient. A book published by her a year ago, entitled "Pekin Dust", is attracting wide attention and is perhaps the most illuminating work on present day China and China's real relations to the European Powers and to Japan, that has appeared from any pen. No one should miss it who cares to understand inside conditions and events in Pekin during the war,—the things which the censors would not let us know.

Her "Opium Monopoly" has been written since her "Pekin Dust" and promises to attract even wider attention. It is a small work, and is confined to one subject, but that subject is a serious one not only for Asia but for all the world. There is no more shocking story in modern history than that of Great Britain waging two wars to force opium upon China in such quantities as to practically poison the whole nation. At last the Chinese Government by earnest, determined and most persistent efforts has stopped the open importation of the drug; although it is still smuggled in to a limited extent. But all Asia is suffering from it, particularly India. Practically all the opium of the world is produced and controlled by Great Britain; she has the world-monopoly of it She causes, virtually compels, the Indian people to produce it; devoting from 200,000 to 600,000 acres of the richest Indian soil, which ought to be used for growing food for the starving people, to the cultivation of poppies for the manufacture of this world-poison.

Miss La Motte tells us how she became interested in this subject and thus how she came to write her book. Her story is worth repeating. She says: "On my way to Japan, in the July of 1916, I met a young Hindu on the boat, who was outspoken and indignant over the British policy of establishing the opium trade in India, as one of the departments of the Indian Government. Of all the phases of British rule in India, it was this

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policy that excited him most, and which caused him most ardently to wish that India had some form of self-government, some voice in the control and management of her own affairs, so that the country could protect itself from this evil. Without this, he declared, his country was powerless to put a stop to this traffic imposed upon it by a foreign Government, and he greatly deplored the slow, but steady demoralization of the nation which was in consequence taking place; for the British rulers of the land not only sold the opium to the other nations of Asia, but insisted upon an extensive sale of it to the people of India. As this young Hindu produced his facts and figures, showing what all this meant to his people—this gradual undermining of their moral fibre and economic efficiency—I grew more and more interested. That such conditions existed were to me unheard of, and unbelievable. It seemed incredible that in this age, with the consensus of public opinion sternly opposed to the sale and distribution of habit-forming drugs, and with legislation to curb and restrict such practices incorporated in the laws of all ethical and civilized governments, that here, on the other side of the world, I should come upon opium traffic conducted as a government monopoly. Not only that, but conducted by one of the greatest and most highly civilized nations of the world, a nation which I have always looked up to as being in the very forefront of advanced, progressive and humane ideals. So shocked was I by what this young Hindu told me, that I flatly refused to believe him. I listened to what he had to say on the subject, but thinking that however earnest he might be, however sincere in his sense of outrage at such a policy, he must be mistaken. I decided not to take his word for it, but to look into the matter for myself."

Then she tells how she did look into the matter for herself,—studying government blue books and other official documents, and getting information from the highest authorities in all the principal countries of the East. The result was, she found not only that all the Hindu young man had said was true, but that he had not told half the truth. Great Britain not only insists upon supplying opium to all her subject races, forcing its sale upon them, but she supplies it to all the other European governments that have colonies and dependencies in Asia and Africa, and they force its sale among their subject races. There are in India 17,369 drug shops, maintained by the authority of the government contrary to the wish of the people, where opium

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and intoxicating liquors are sold. The annual government revenue from opium in India according to the latest statistics is more than $15,000,000. Surely we cannot wonder at Miss La Motte's comment when she says: "A nation that can subjugate $300,000,000, helpless people, and then turn them into drug addicts—for the sake of revenue—is a nation that commits a cold-blooded atrocity unparalleled by any atrocity committed in the rage and heat of war."

Where is there any hope for the Indian people? They hate and dread the poison which is slowly undermining the physical vitality and the moral life of the nation, and would gladly banish it as China has done. But so long as they are dominated by a foreign power that is willing to sacrifice the health, happiness and life of millions of its subjects for revenue, they are helpless. Their only hope, as the Hindu young man said, is in home rule.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Literature of Education.

Comparative Education. Edited by Peter Sandiford. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London), 1920.

The Doctrines of the Great Educators By R. R. Rusk, Ph. D. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London), 1919.

An Introduction to Child Psychology. By C. W. Waddle, Ph. D. (George G. Harrap &Co., 2 and 3 Portsmouth Street, Kingsway, London, W. C.), 1919.

FROM Comparative Religion as a subject of study, we have now been led by parity of reasoning to similar studies in other branches of human activities and Mr. Peter Sandiford has just presented us with his *Comparative Education.*

It comprises a series of critical studies of the educational systems of six modern nations—the Americans, the Germans, the English, the French, the Canadians and the Danes. The editor himself lucidly describes the educational systems of England and Canada and he has succeeded in securing the services of experts for sketching those of America, Germany, France and Denmark. Each contributor has aimed to analyse some of the important factors in the educational systems of the six nations surveyed and to bring out by comparison the points of agreement and differentiation in them. The result is an instructive exposition of educational principles and tendencies in terms of social, economic and political antecedents of each nation under survey. The six countries have been deliberately chosen as representing certain distinct types—Ger-

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many that of absolute centralisation, France of centralisation under popular control, England of individualism and popular initiative, America of the ideal of democracy, Canada of development on democratic lines and Denmark of the adaptation of the system to the needs and requirements of an agricultural community. The ground traversed is thus comprehensive and the treatment being scientific though untechnical, the book ought to find a large circulation in India, where experts and reformers are still struggling to formulate a sound and definite educational policy.

In his *Doctrines of the Great Educators*, Dr. Robert Rusk has produce a work of considerable interest to the students of the subject. Without professing to be writing a history of educational theories, the author has addressed himself to setting forth the doctrines of a dozen of the leading and representative educators—Plato, Quintilian, Elyot, Loyola, Comenius, Milton, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel and Montessori. The selection is, on the whole, unexceptionable. There are no biographical details and this, while a disadvantage in one sense, is an advantage in another. The expositions of the doctrines are lucid and accurate and are marked by soundness and scholarship. They are presented in a form likely to appeal to non-specialists, for whom the book is evidently primarily intended. The chapter on Plato is perhaps the most interesting, for of him the author writes with enthusiasm and not merely as an expositor. This is how he begins his exposition of Plato :—"It is to Greek thought that we first turn when we wish to consider any of the problems of Ethics, Education or Politics, for in Greece we find the beginnings of western civilization. Greek culture can not be derived. Oriental influences no doubt affected it, but they did not condition it and the boast of Plato was not an empty one that 'whatever Greeks receive from foreigners they in the end make more beautiful.", The other sketches also are well-written and the book is both instructive and stimulating. It should appeal to students of the cultural history of the world.

In view of the rapid strides taken in recent years in the progress of the child-study movement, an up-to-date exposition of facts and theories—such as is furnished in Professor Waddle's *Introduction to Child Psychology*—was badly needed. Dr. Waddle's book is an admirably organized treatment of the subject from the point of view of modern biology. It covers phases of fundamental and practical importance to teachers, parents, and social workers. It sets forth the status of our present knowledge as to child psychology. Its carefully-selected bibliographies put the reader in touch with the best literature on each aspect of the subject discussed. It will stimulate interest in everything which promotes a better understanding, a more sympathetic appreciation, and

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a more helpful handling of child training, education, and welfare. The child-study movement is yet quite new in this country and has hardly taken root. Those interested in it should therefore readily avail themselves of the very interesting data and instructive suggestions offered in Dr. Waddle's thought-provoking book.

Our Library Table : Miscellaneous Literature.

THE Indictment of War (C. W. Daniel, Ltd., Graham House, Tudor Street, London), is an Anthology of prose and verse from the great writers of all ages who have written in condemnation of War. The Editors have not restricted themselves to one nationality or school of religious, philosophical or political thought. Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, German, Belgian, French, American and other writers are quoted, as well as those of Great Britain. In many cases important utterances on the subject are translated into English for the first time. Full and accurate references are given for all the quotations, which are arranged alphabetically under authors' names for the readers' convenience. A valuable Preface by the Editors, explaining the nature and scope of their work, enhances the interest of the compilation. A capital work of reference on a subject of perennial interest.

Of the many translations into English of the Qoran perhaps the most useful is that made by Mr. Muhammad Ali, M. A., LL.B., President, Ahmadiah Anjuman-i-Ishaet-i-Islam, Lahore, and published by that body. The work of a scholar, neatly printed on India paper in England and bound in green leather limp covers, it is pleasing to handle it for perusal. But it is not only its mechanical execution and formal that deserve praise. The letter-press enriched with copious elucidative notes and expository introductions is a valuable contribution to Islamic studies. The Arabic text is also printed on each page opposite the translation. Altogether a work on which the translator, publishers and readers may all be equally and unreservedly congratulated.

London Scenes by Mr. W. R. Titterton (Andrew Melrose, Ltd., 3 York Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C.) graphically describes and vividly portrays the familiar scenes and sights of the great metropolis. The Docks, the East End Music Hall, the Courts of Justice, the Markets, Fleet Street, Richmond, Parliament, the Parks, "the Zoo" and even the wax-figures-exhibition at Madame Tussaud's, these and others all come within the sphere of Mr. Titterton's well-informed and well-written survey. In no other book that we know of are the lights and shadows of the familiar phases of London life thrown into stronger relief than in Mr. Titterton's book.

In his *Amritsar and Our Duty to India* (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London), the Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar Mr. B. G.

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Horniman—has produced a scathing condemnation of the policy or impolicy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in dealing with the Punjab disturbances of last year, of the cold-blooded butchery by General Dyer at Jallianwala and of the many brutal misdeeds of those who administered the martial law. There is not much that is new to Indian readers of Mr. Horniman's book but it will have a value of its own to readers in Great Britain and Ireland and in America and in the British colonies. Based upon first hand knowledge and records it will be useful alike for study and reference.

We welcome the sixth edition—revised and brought up-to-date—of the late Professor David Murray's *Japan* in "The Story of the Nations" series (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London). Published originally in 1894 it sketched out Japanese history till 1889. To the fifth edition issued in 1904, a new chapter was added and another has been added to the edition under notice bringing the history thoroughly up-to-date. It has long been regarded as a standard work and in its present form will continue to be the best one-volume history of the Japanese Empire. To students of the subject it is indispensable.

In his *Flashes of London* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. I.) Mr. Charles Ingle presents a kaleidoscope of the panorama of London, the Big Grey City of Unrest; her mysteries and humour; her glamour and pathos; her feverish nights and eerie dawn. The master pattern is filled in with smaller pieces, the whole envisaging something of her illimitable contrasts, rendering something of the pulsations of her spirit, as seen in her streets and restaurants: in her backwaters and circuses of pleasure. It should interest alike those who know London and those who do not.

The Liberal Year-Book for 1920 (42, Parliament Street, London) is brimful of highly useful and generally inaccessible information, much of which will be invaluable to Indian political reformers. The "List of Books : A Short Bibliography for the Use of Liberals" is a commendable feature of the current edition ; while the lucid sketch of "Parliament and Parliamentary Procedure" ought to be of especial interest to Indian public men on the eve of the introduction of the Reform Scheme. A capital little book of reference.

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Mr. Shibnarayan Lala—Professor of Hindi in the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta—deserves commendation for the first part of *A Manual of Higher Hindi Grammar and Composition* (Goldquin & Co., College Street, Market, Calcutta). A critical notice of it must be deferred till the completion of the work by the publication of the second and third parts. But so far as one may judge from the one part issued, the author has taken considerable pains to make his book both accurate and comprehensive, and it is distinctly a work of merit.

Sir Charles Lyall's enthusiasm for pre-Quoranic Arabic literature continues unabated. His latest contribution to the subject is a spirited rendering into English prose of *The Poems of 'Amr'*—a fifth century poet. (The University Press, Cambridge). The value of the translation is enhanced by Sir Charles's affixing to it a learned Introduction dealing with the poet, his works and his times. To those interested in pre-Quoranic Arabic literature it is invaluable.

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